

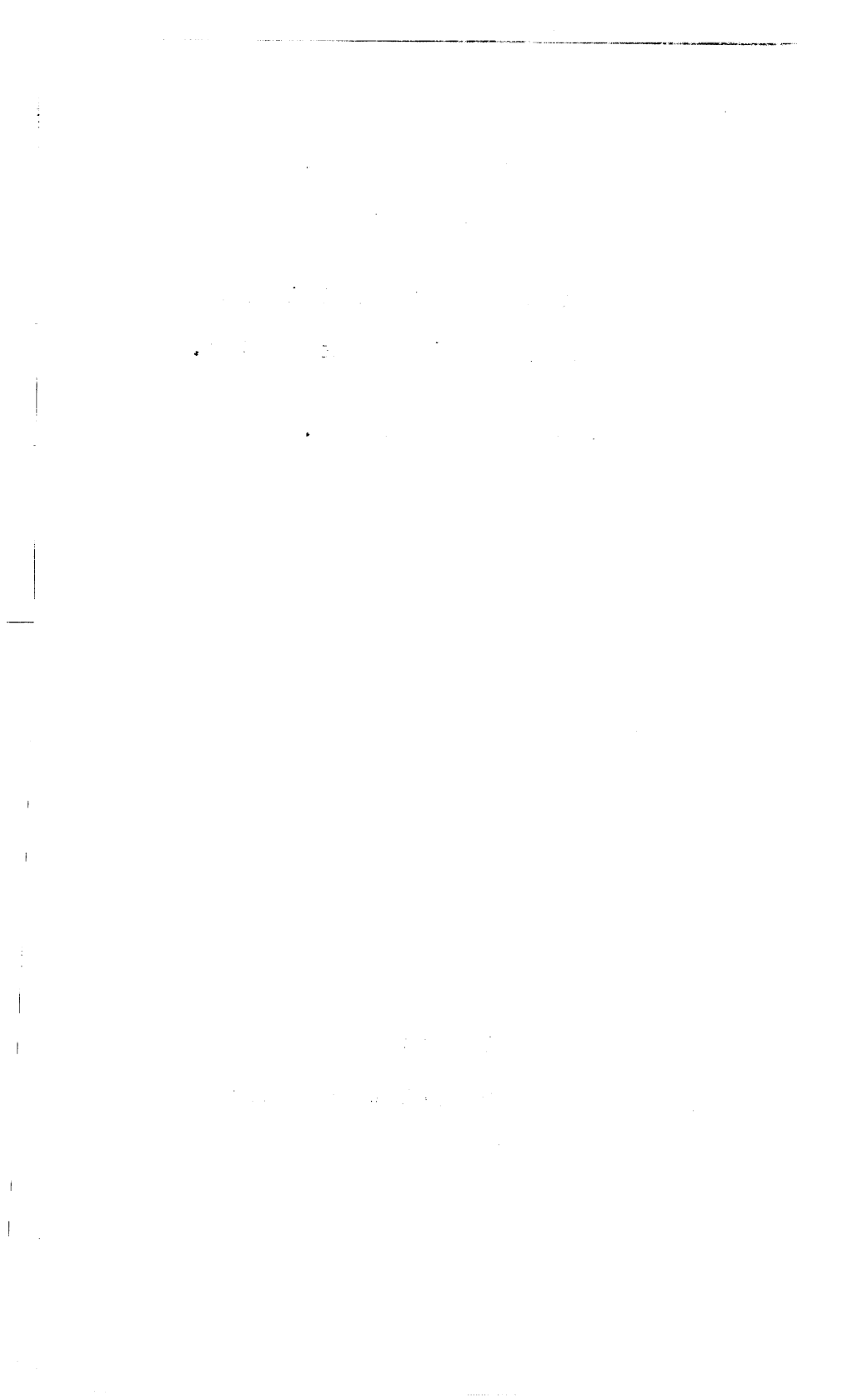
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STATEMENT BEFORE THE COMMITTEE
ON INSULAR AFFAIRS

on conditions in the Philippine
Islands, by Felipe Buencamino.

May 31, June 3 and 4, 1902.

Washington
Government printing office
1902



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T. H. PARDO DE TAVERA.

COMMITTEE ON INSULAR AFFAIRS,
Saturday, May 31, 1902.

The committee met at 11 o'clock a. m., Hon. Henry A. Cooper in the chair.

STATEMENT OF MR. FELIPE BUENCAMINO, THROUGH MR. FRANK L. JOANNINI, INTERPRETER.

The CHAIRMAN. We have with us this morning Señor Buencamino, formerly a member of Aguinaldo's cabinet. He comes direct from the Philippine Islands, and we are here for the purpose of listening to his statement.

Please tell us your name.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Felipe Buencamino.

The CHAIRMAN. You are a native of the Philippine Islands?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were secretary of state of the cabinet of Aguinaldo?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When were you captured by the American forces?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. November 20, 1899.

The CHAIRMAN. You are now in the employ of the civil government of the islands?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In what capacity?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. As a member of the civil-service board.

The CHAIRMAN. How came you to come to the United States?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee: Before answering the question, Mr. Chairman, permit me to express the happy emotion that I feel at this moment, an emotion which comes from my heart, an emotion coming from the soul of my country, because after a voyage of forty-seven days I have the honor and pleasure of appearing before the sovereign of my country, represented by this worthy committee. My country may be likened unto a sick man, convalescing from a very serious illness. She is still bloody and covered with wounds from the past war. The purposes of these wars have been to secure justice, peace, and liberty. My country looks at liberty and peace as General Washington did. That is to say, liberty moderated by justice; justice moderated by liberty. At present such is the idea we have in the Philippines of the American sovereignty, which we now love, and consequently this moment is a very happy one for me when I appear before this sovereign, composed of Republicans and Democrats; they are all children of Washington, and they must love liberty and justice, and I come to represent my people, hoping that this sovereignty will give my people a just and liberal government.

Washington

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The following is the reason for which I came:

As the commissioner of the Federal party, as well as the influential insurgents and all the commanders of the Katipunan Society—and I have the evidence here in my possession to prove the statement, and I will be glad to present the evidence if you so wish.

The CHAIRMAN. We will examine the credentials later. Where were you at the time of the fighting or when the war, so called, began on the 4th of February, 1899?

• Mr. BUENCAMINO. In Malolos.

The CHAIRMAN. How far from the scene of conflict?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Thirty-six miles.

The CHAIRMAN. Prior to that outbreak at that time you were secretary of state of Aguinaldo's cabinet?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I was not at that time secretary of state, but director of justice in the army. Mabini was at that time secretary of state.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether prior to that outbreak there had been preparations made by the insurgents themselves for the beginning of hostilities?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. There had been preparations made.

The CHAIRMAN. For how long a time prior to that outbreak had the preparations been in progress?

• Mr. BUENCAMINO. Since October, 1898. At that time they received a telegram from Agoncillo from Washington, stating that he had not been received by President McKinley as the representative of the Philippine government and that we should make preparations for war.

The CHAIRMAN. Of what did those preparations consist?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. The preparations were to organize the army through General Luna; organize volunteer corps in Manila in order to assist the insurgents the day of the breaking out of hostilities, and in order to get the American forces between two fires.

The CHAIRMAN. Were the preparations in Manila secret?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes; they were secret.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the intention of the insurgents after those preparations were completed; what did they intend to do?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. The Philippine government established by Aguinaldo at Malolos was established because Aguinaldo had promised that the United States would recognize their independence, giving in evidence the statement of Admiral Dewey, and we all gathered around Aguinaldo under the hope of obtaining the realization of that promise, and in order to obtain a confirmation of this proclamation to us from the lips of President McKinley himself we sent Agoncillo to Washington, and as this telegram was sent from Washington saying that we would be deceived preparations for war were at once begun, having lost confidence in the Americans on account of the error committed by Aguinaldo in stating that the promise had been made by Admiral Dewey of recognizing the Philippine independence by the United States.

• The CHAIRMAN. The Filipinos have understood since that Admiral Dewey has denied that statement?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. At that time Aguinaldo was their idol and they had great faith in him, as he was the only one who had relations with Admiral Dewey; they thought he was telling the truth.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it not a fact that the only one of the Philippine leaders who had personal dealings with Admiral Dewey was Aguinaldo?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; he was the only one.

The CHAIRMAN. And no one else among the Filipino leaders pretended that he knew anything of this alleged promise of Admiral Dewey except Aguinaldo?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. General Alexandrino has also said this, that he was on a transport with Admiral Dewey, coming with his squadron from Hongkong to Manila.

The CHAIRMAN. The Filipinos now understand that Admiral Dewey denies that statement, and that Admiral Dewey in his report says he obeyed the instructions of President McKinley not to make any such promise or alliance?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. They know that now.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how the hostilities began on the night of the 4th of February?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I know, because I was charged by General Aguinaldo to prepare the necessary papers showing the manner of the breaking out of hostilities.

The CHAIRMAN. Just describe that as you understand it.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. On the 4th of February the towns of Santa Ana and San Juan del Monte were under the command of General Ricarte and Colonel San Miguel. On this day those two commanders abandoned their posts and went to a ball, leaving a major by the name of Gray, about 26 years of age, very young and without experience, in command of about 1,800 troops. They extended along the eastern part of the outskirts of Manila and were about half a mile distant from the American troops. We took the deposition of this major, who said that about 9 o'clock p. m. the sergeant of the guard came to his headquarters and told him that a party of American troops desired to cross their lines or were attempting to cross their lines, which was opposed by the Philippine guards. At this time a shot was heard; that he could not say for certain whether the shot came from the American command or from the men under his command, but he ran to the place from which the shot appeared to come, and seeing the American troops in a belligerent attitude gave an order to fire. That is the way the hostilities began.

The CHAIRMAN. The major gave the order to fire upon the American troops?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; he gave the first order to fire upon the American troops.

The CHAIRMAN. Then the beginning of hostilities was premature?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. On our part it was premature, because three engineering corps and four cavalry troops had still to be organized.

The CHAIRMAN. If the engineering corps and the cavalry troops had been afterwards organized, what was the intention of the insurgents under Aguinaldo?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. The intention was to attack the Americans.

The CHAIRMAN. So then the opening of hostilities was simply premature. The hostilities were to be begun by Aguinaldo anyway a little later?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir. The basis of this was a lack of confidence in the Americans.

The CHAIRMAN. What became of General Luna, who had control of the organization of the army?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. General Luna was appointed lieutenant-general of the army in October, 1898. He organized the entire army, but he

was a very cruel, inhuman man in his command, because from that date, October, 1898, to June 5, 1900, when he died, he had ordered the execution of 160 persons, under the pretext of their being spies and traitors. His cruelty went to such extremes that when I was visited from Manila by my mother-in-law, my sister-in-law, and my two sons, who are minors, and who are at present in San Francisco, he ordered them arrested and said that they were spies; and he also ordered the execution of Baron Dumarais, the French agent of the General Tobacco Company, of Manila, who entered our camp requesting an interview with Aguinaldo to treat on tobacco questions in the province of Cagayan, where many millions of dollars are invested in tobacco. By reason of these cruelties the public almost demanded his removal; but he was a very active and intelligent military man, a great patriot, and was very brave, and he had a large number of admirers among the military men. Aguinaldo objected to many of his orders, and that was the reason for the differences between them. Two bands were then formed within the Philippine army, one for General Luna and the other for General Aguinaldo. On April 18, 1899, there was a conflict between General Mascardo and General Luna in the province of Pampanga. General Mascardo was one of the most intimate friends of General Aguinaldo, and had been the companion of Aguinaldo since the insurrection of 1896. General Luna desired to subject General Mascardo to his order, and General Mascardo objected.

Thus, on this morning, April 18, 1899, General Luna took 800 soldiers from the trenches of Bagbag, who were facing the trenches of General MacArthur at Malolos, a distance of about 8 miles, and they went in the opposite direction to search for General Mascardo and capture him. General Mascardo also prepared himself with 500 men to fight the soldiers of General Luna.

At 10 o'clock in the morning that same day General MacArthur attacked General Luna's trenches, and took the same day the town of Quingua, which was defended by General Aguinaldo. General Aguinaldo called on General Luna to attack the flank of General MacArthur, but General Luna was not at his post; he was 25 miles beyond, looking for General Mascardo. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon the troops were all ready to have a combat when they received advices stating that General MacArthur had defeated General Aguinaldo at Quingua. This was the cause for the suspension of internal dissensions among us, but the motives were still held in reserve. Subsequently thereto, the following May, it was found that General Luna wanted to effect a coup d'état to supplant Aguinaldo. It was even known that he had fixed the 13th of June for his blow.

The CHAIRMAN. What year was that?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. 1899. All the dates I am referring to now were in 1899.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the date set by General Luna for the seizure of Aguinaldo and the control of the government?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; that day was also his feast day, the day which is celebrated in the Philippines instead of the birthday.

Then General Aguinaldo decided on the suppression of General Luna, and he collected 4,000 men and went to look for General Luna, leaving the town where the captain-general was temporarily on June 1. General Luna was living in Bayambang, about 75 miles from Cabanatuan, so that it took Aguinaldo four days to arrive at the town of

Bayambang. But what I can not explain is the coincidence that upon the same day that Aguinaldo was arriving at the residence of General Luna, General Luna on the same day and at the same hour was also arriving at General Aguinaldo's house.

The CHAIRMAN. How far were they apart?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Seventy-five miles. General Luna was killed in the lower part of General Aguinaldo's house by General Aguinaldo's guards.

The CHAIRMAN. Who of General Luna's staff were present with him?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Francisco Roman and his aid-de-camp.

The CHAIRMAN. General Luna was killed?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What other persons of Aguinaldo's family were there?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. His mother, his sister, his wife, and his children.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were they?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. In the upper part of the building in which General Luna was killed.

The CHAIRMAN. General Luna was killed just outside of General Aguinaldo's house by General Aguinaldo's personal guards?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What effect on the insurrection did the assassination of General Luna have?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. From a sentimental point of view, I can not say that many persons were pleased with it, but it can be said that they breathed freely, because the very morning of the death of General Luna, at 5 o'clock, he had ordered two executions, and consequently everybody considered their lives and persons in danger. So while I will not say that many rejoiced at the death of General Luna, they breathed easier.

The CHAIRMAN. Did it create among the staffs of the generals any weakening of power of the insurrection after that?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Everybody lost confidence in this insurrection by this occurrence. It can be said that from that time the insurrection had morally died, and since that time I have felt that we could never be independent unless we had an independence such as that of some small state.

The CHAIRMAN. How does the present condition of the poor people—the poor classes of the islands in the cities and the country—compare with their condition under the Spanish Government?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. In one word, they may be compared as happiness and misery. Under the Spanish Government a poor Filipino had the following contributions to make:

In the first place, a forced military service; all males between 18 and 21 years of age were obliged to be soldiers in the military service. Second, all males between 18 and 60 years of age were obliged to work for forty days under compulsion; and if they did not want to work, they had to pay 3 pesos. This very heavy tax was later reduced to fifteen days by a decree of Minister Maura, the best Spanish minister which the Philippine Islands have had. In addition, a male between 18 and 60 years of age was obliged to pay \$2.25 Mexican for a personal certificate, and his wife would also have to pay 2 pesos Mexican, so that a poor family would have to pay \$4.25 Mexican a year. The Philippine authorities also controlled the person of the poor Filipino—the

lieutenant or commander of the ward, the collector of taxes, the petty governor or local president, the friar and the friar's assistant, the civil guard, and the head of the province, and all Spaniards living in the town—so that if a poor man had a hen or a good horse, not only would they take his hen or horse away from him without giving him any equivalent, but, having only one and only having enough to give to one person, the remaining six, who were not favored, became enemies of this particular man.

Now, according to the municipal code established by the Civil Commission, all the charges and authorities have disappeared, so that now the poor man does not recognize any authority in the town or municipality except the municipal president, and he has no American in the town except the teacher who teaches him, which teacher pays him \$1 for his hen, which was previously worth under the Spanish Government only 25 cents, if the 25 cents were paid, but the American Army in going into the Philippines paid \$1 for hens, and this price has been maintained. Consequently, I can state, without controverting the truth and without exaggerating at all, that the difference between the present and the former condition of affairs in the Philippines is like the difference between misery and happiness.

The CHAIRMAN. What effect has the establishment of a municipal government by the Taft Commission had on the people?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. It has been very satisfactory—to such an extent that they have now 800 municipalities. Of the masses composing these municipalities, about 5,000,000 Christians have attended the elections, and voted without restriction for their candidates for municipal councilors and municipal presidents, and they in addition pay the taxes which have been prescribed by the municipal council within the legal powers. I consider this an evidence, when the masses come to the elections and then go and pay their taxes, that the law which orders these acts which they perform must be satisfactory.

We have 8,000 municipal employees, and of these 8,000 municipal employees when I left Manila, as a member of the civil service board I can state the following fact: There are only 10 of these 8,000 municipal employees who are suspended from their offices, which is also an evidence that the law is being complied with faithfully, and also proves the full capacity of the Filipino for local self-government.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the civil and provincial governments established by the Taft Commission, do not the people of the Philippine Islands enjoy greater liberty than they would have enjoyed under the Aguinaldo government, if it had been established?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. They have much more liberty. Although the liberal provisions of the Maura law gave suffrage, the person elected could not take possession of his office until after being appointed by the captain-general, so that the election did not mean the final appointment, the final appointment being in the hands of the Spanish governor-general. Now, under the municipal code, after the election has been made, those elected enter finally upon the discharge of their duties; so that the popular election is the credential of appointment. Thus the sovereign local jurisdiction comes directly from the people. The people understand this, and, as is natural, it is very satisfactory to the people.

The CHAIRMAN. That is an advantage that would not have been enjoyed under the Aguinaldo government, is it not?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No; that would not have been enjoyed under Aguinaldo's government, because they had the same provisions as under the Spanish Government.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the feeling of the people of the islands toward Governor Taft and the Commission?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Governor Taft is now the idol of the Filipino people. I wish to explain what I mean by this word "idol." Socially the Filipino people have the defect of lack of a common language. President Roosevelt speaks, and he is understood by the 80,000,000 Americans, but I, speaking the Spanish language, the scientific language of the country, am only understood by about 25,000 Filipinos; so that in order to be understood by the remainder interpreters are necessary, and if these interpreters do not care for you the truth never reaches the hearing of the people. It is necessary to be an idol of these interpreters to have the truth reach the people. That is the present social status of the people with regard to language.

I only know three idols of my people—Dr. Rizal, General Aguinaldo in his time, when we had faith in the promises and statements made by him with regard to the statements of Admiral Dewey, and now Governor Taft. Governor Taft has had the tact to visit all the provinces of the archipelago, to extend his hand to all of the most irreconcilable insurgents, of giving light to the most ignorant: and my people idolize him greatly now, to such an extent that when he makes a statement he is truly and exactly interpreted to the people. In truth, I may state that there is no American in the Philippines who is as popular as Governor Taft at the present time. I can also assure you that I do not believe I am in the absolute confidence of Governor Taft, on account of my radical ideas.

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask you this question: The Taft Commission in its report, and Governor Taft personally in his testimony before this committee, urged very strongly that there be provided by law a legislature for the Philippine Islands, of which the lower house should be elected by the Filipino people, thinking that that would have a good effect upon the Filipinos in educating them for self-government. The bill which this committee has reported contains a provision for the establishment of such a legislature with the Philippine Commission, the Taft Commission, for the upper house. In your opinion would it be wise for us to enact that into law at this session, as urged by Governor Taft?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I wish to ask some questions before answering. The Filipino people, like most peoples, is composed of intelligent, semi-intelligent, and ignorant people, but there has been a custom of looking at domestic questions more than political questions. The Philippine people have been governed for two hundred years by the royal audiencia of Manila, which is a supreme court of justice, and secondly, the juridical sense among the Philippine people is very high. The difference between justice and injustice is very evident to the Filipino. Before the arrival of the Spaniards in the Philippines they had this knowledge of the difference between justice and injustice, as is shown in the Tagal words "katuiran at hindi katuiran."

You understand, therefore, that above political questions we would like to know what we are as citizens, because the question of nationality should supersede the political questions. Are we Americans, or are we Filipinos? This question has been impressed upon me by the

Federal party and the majority of the Philippine people, and I will now give my opinion in regard to the matter of the legislature that you spoke of—that the legislature you suggest is very advisable, as is recommended by Governor Taft and the Commission of which he is the president.

But the Philippine people would be more pleased to be able to say that this lower chamber is a chamber of Americans, and not a chamber of foreigners.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the proposition of the bill—that the members of the lower house are to be elected by the people of the Philippine Islands.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Not native Filipinos, however.

The CHAIRMAN. No; but they will have the majority, of course, and can elect whom they please.

Mr. TAWNEY. Does he understand that under the bill referred to by the chairman a lower house may be constituted entirely of Filipinos?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, I understand that; but I would prefer that this chamber be called a chamber of Americans and not of Filipinos; that is, to suppress the name "Filipino" and call them Americans.

The CHAIRMAN. Your idea is, then, that the happiness and welfare of the Filipino people, for the present at least, depends upon American sovereignty of those islands?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; it is.

The CHAIRMAN. You may go on with any statement now which you would like to present to the committee.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. In the first place, I wish to accredit my representation before the committee. [Mr. Buencamino here produced and handed to the committee a photograph.] This photograph represents the party who came to bid me farewell—of all the leaders of the Katipunan Society.

The CHAIRMAN. On what date did you leave Manila?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. On April 14.

The CHAIRMAN. And came directly to the United States?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Came directly to the United States. I made a stop at Honolulu for a few days.

In this picture, composed of the leaders of the Katipunan Society, can be seen the proof of their desire to become Americans by the coat of arms on the picture, which is an evident proof of their satisfaction with the laws of the Commission.

The CHAIRMAN. This society desires that the Filipinos should become Americans; is that the idea?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The Katipunan Society?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. The persons in the foreground are the heads of the Katipunan, and in the background are other members.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed with anything else you desire to say.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I also come on behalf of the prominent insurgents who were formerly friends of Aguinaldo.

The CHAIRMAN. Name them?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. General Trias and the entire general staff of General Malvar assure me of General Malvar's consent to the action of the Federal party.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Malvar the general recently captured in Samar?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No; he is the one who surrendered on the 16th of April.

The CHAIRMAN. On what island?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. In Batangas, in the island of Luzon. The general captured was General Lucban. General Trias and others have some wishes which they desire me to submit to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. We can receive those and print them as a part of your statement. We can have that printed right in his statement. Please tell us who General Trias was?

The papers referred to and presented by Mr. Buencamino are as follows:

[Translated by Frank L. Joannini, Insular Division, War Department.]

CAVITE, April 11, 1902.

Mr. FELIPE BUENCAMINO.

ESTEEMED SIR AND FRIEND: In the postscript to your letter of the 27th ultimo you informed me that you would leave for the United States on the 20th instant, incidentally asking me for any orders or instructions which I might have, and for which I sincerely thank you.

I congratulate you on your voyage and at the same time I congratulate myself in so far as my province is concerned, and I am led to believe that it will redound to the great advantage of the country in general.

In view of your fitness, orders and instructions appear superfluous, but in order that they may possibly serve you something I give you my poor opinion which I would ardently desire to see realized.

Speak for the encouragement of public instruction and all branches of science, by means of the establishment of institutions under the protection of the Government, changing the old methods and giving education a new channel.

Do all you can to secure the disappearance of the irritating distinction which reigns here with regard to the salaries in official positions. "Equality before the law and unity of races must be proclaimed."

With regard to the purchase of the property of corporations by the Government for distribution in lots to their present tenants, it would be advisable to have the titles of ownership legalized first and the property carefully appraised so that the tenants will not be obliged to pay an exorbitant price therefor.

Tell the truth and nothing but the truth, and show that the country, without deserving it, has several bitter enemies—the friars, the Chinese, and even the Spaniards. These are those who desire that the Filipinos should be divided, for should they agree, good-bye to the good dinners and bargains.

Chinese immigration is highly prejudicial to the country, and although the lack of labor is now evident that is not because of the natives but the lack of encouragement, equity, and especially a certain amount of despotism and lack of confidence with which the Philippine employees are usually treated. The failure of the gang of laborers organized and sent by you to Abra or Benguet finds an explanation in this.

In the arsenal of this port it is observed that little by little salaries are being reduced and that they will continue to be reduced without doubt to the level of that of the laborers of the Varadero of Cañacao. The equality in the salaries of this institution has its *raison d'être* in the change of the permanent character of the employment of those who prove their qualifications, which is not the case in the arsenal with regard to the Philippine laborers, while the Chinese or natives of Macao never suffered any change and are better established than anybody else.

You must confess without doubt that modesty or courtesy was always a great defect in the country. I do not know if on account of our own ignorance, but I believe that it is a conscientious duty to apply a remedy where a subterfuge or an injustice appears under the pretext of a question of language.

Convinced by experience I find that the natives of Macao hardly speak English, and if they do make themselves understood by the Americans it is only on account of the great or little toleration of the latter.

With this picture before us it appears to me that it is not necessary to make any commentary as to whether, on the whole, we are in a similar state as under the Spanish domination.

Another of the crises through which the country is passing is the currency question. As we have a flag to show in international matters, money, the basis of moral and material stability of any organization, is also necessary that it should be uniform; that it should have a real and effective value or a genuine representation.

And, finally, now that America in retaining the islands undertook the moral obligation of regenerating us and conducting us to the highest point of civilization and

progress, permit me to suggest to you that you insistantly advocate the enlistment of the Filipinos into the Army and Navy.

Would that with a decision of this kind the people may enjoy the benefits of liberty! Then you would again see how the Philippines are the real paradise of peace and tranquility.

Do not forget those deported to Guam and advocate their return; but know that I do not say this only on account of my brother, but for all.

With considerations of friendship and esteem, I salute you affectionately.

Your obedient servant,

MARIANO FRIAS.

LIPA, BATANGAS, *April 15, 1902—9.45 a. m.*

Señor BUENCAMINO,
Transport Buford, Manila, P. I.:

Malvar and Gonzales asked for an interview. These two generals' surrender is sure. War is over.

GUZMAN.

SANTO TOMAS, VIA CALAMBA, *April 14—12.35 p. m.*

Señor FELIPE BUENCAMINO,
Calle Sagunto, Manila:

In congratulating you for the special distinction which the Government of the United States of America has bestowed upon you, I have the satisfaction of signifying you that until the end of this month the pacification of this province will be complete and the Philippine revolution at an end. Captain Johnston, Fifteenth Cavalry, brigadier provost-judge of this brigade, has seconded with admirable political tact our negotiations with the forces of General Gonzalez and those of the captured Colonel Hernandez, the only ones of importance remaining in this province. From San Juan de Bocboc Guzman directs the popular movement against Malvar and his family, his only escort, as a general protest in favor of peace, and after the surrender of General Gonzalez here peace should be declared definitely. In this movement I have received from Señor Aguielera a copy of a letter received yesterday from General Malvar soliciting a conference.

Wishing you a pleasant voyage.

LUNA.

TANAUAN (VIA CALAMBA), LAGUNA, *April 17, 1902—1.30 p. m.*

Señor FELIPE BUENCAMINO,
Calle Sagunto, Manila (Tondo):

The surrender of general was verified yesterday morning at Lipa before General Bell, Captain Brown, and Lieutenant Harrison. General Gonzalez surrendered to Capt. W. T. Johnson, brigade provost-judge, Tanauan, at 2 p. m. yesterday, asking for five days' grace to enable him to gather together his entire command, who will surrender in Tanauan. This request was immediately granted by Captain Johnston. Later on in the afternoon, on the arrival of General Bell in Tanauan, the surrender was verified before General Bell, Captain Johnston, and the commanding officer at Tanauan, Major Bowen. The war is completely terminated.

LUNA, AGULERA, AND LAQUI.

BATANGAS, *April 16, 1902—4.40 p. m.*

FELIPE BUENCAMINO,
Villalobos 37 (Transport Buford), Manila:

Presentado Malvar hoy esta en Lipa. Manana se vendira Coronel Gonzalez en Tanauan.

GLORIA.

LIPA (BATANGAS), *April 16, 1902—7.35 a. m.*

Señor FELIPE BUENCAMINO,
Transport Buford, Manila, P. I.:

Yesterday at 3 o'clock, afternoon, we took General Malvar out of Rosario woods. To-day at 8 o'clock this morning will take place his surrender before General Bell.

The Columna will go with me to Tanauan to conclude the begun contract with General Gonzalez. Our work is over. Perhaps we may see each other before his departure.

GUZMAN.

(Approved. Johnston, captain, Fifteenth Cavalry.)

Mr. BUENCAMINO. He was the next in popularity after Aguinaldo, and he was a lieutenant-general also of the army.

The CHAIRMAN. Please tell the substance of what this man says; what the sentiments now of General Trias are.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Completely American. To such an extent that he receives from General Chaffee 200 rifles to pursue and fight Malvar around the outskirts of Cavite, and General Cailles, who is also an insurgent, also received 200 rifles from General Chaffee to pursue Malvar through the outskirts of the province of Laguna, and Malvar being caught between these two fires, and with the forces of General Bell in the interior of Batangas, and being surrounded from Cavite and Laguna by the forces of General Cailles and General Trias, he surrendered.

But it must be remembered that Batangas was the heart of the trouble, of the war against America, while Cavite was the center of operations of insurrection against Spain. Mabini, the head of the irreconcilables, is a native of Batangas, and Agoncillo and Ilustre, the principal members of the Hongkong junta, are natives of Batangas, and Señor Lopez, who lives in Boston, also an irreconcilable insurgent, is also a native of Batangas. All these men belong to very prominent families of Batangas. They are all honest and intelligent men. I believe they are working in good faith, although in my opinion they are completely wrong.

These men were those who were encouraging Malvar to continue the war against the United States, but by means of the strong and humane work of General Bell, it was made possible that Malvar instead of being captured should surrender, because his surrender decides the political question, and his capture would have been nothing but the expression of a victory of the Army.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, do I understand that this surrender of Malvar was brought about by two former insurgent generals, Trias and Cailles?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. They cooperated a good deal.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed with any other statement you wish to make showing the conditions over there.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. As I have already stated, I come from the Filipino people, and I come in the firm hope of being able to obtain a just and liberal government, and if we could obtain the American citizenship it would be a great thing. If that can not be done, we are also resigned; and this is a question of sovereignty which is to be decided by you who are the sovereigns. But I wish to let it be known that our desires are to obtain a just and liberal government, and to become Americans. If Congress does not agree with our wishes it has a perfect right to disagree, but it will be responsible for the future because we, the Filipinos, have already submitted unconditionally to the will of Congress.

Speaking of a just and liberal government, I wish to express the opinion of the Philippine people. The opinions of the Philippine people consist at the present time in the following only, that every national work is similar to an individual work, and as a young man must learn and be educated, because it is a law of the time which

governs his existence, thus also my people now need a lot of education, much instruction, and a firm and strong government, supported by the constitutional and executive powers of America. If the Americans or the Filipinos who are to govern my country are to be all the time censured here, are to be represented here as tyrants and barbarians and thieves all the time, or as Herods, then what prestige could the Congress of the United States have in the Philippines?

Therefore it is not necessary for my people now to question the facts, but what the government needs is to cure its wounds. Give it life and health, and the life of the nation consists principally in a good system of education and a good economical system in order to encourage agriculture, industry, and commerce.

It is also the wish of my party that I express their desire to have an allowance of \$100,000 per annum made for the education of young Filipinos in America embodied in the proposed bills.

The CHAIRMAN. Permit me to say right there that the government of the Philippines is not prohibited by this bill from making that hundred thousand dollar allowance if it so desires. They might make that provision.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. But it would be an assured fact if it were expressed specifically in the bill, if there is no objection thereto, or if it is within the power of Congress to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. I know from the statements of Governor Taft that he is in favor of some provision being made for the sending of students to this country to study our institutions and methods.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I have come to establish the best relations between the sentiments of our people and the sovereign power, and if the sovereignty can grant this concession, it would be one more flower which I could present to my people.

The CHAIRMAN. Do any members of the committee wish to question the witness?

Mr. JONES. What order shall we observe in examining the witness? I will say for the minority members of the committee that we want to examine him probably at some length.

The CHAIRMAN. I should think, then, that we should adjourn until 2 o'clock as there is no session of the House to-day.

(Informal discussion with regard to adjournment followed.)

Mr. JONES. We would like to know whether it is the purpose to discharge the witness and to let him go before this testimony is printed. I would like very much to look over this testimony before he leaves. How long do you intend to stay?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Until the bill has been voted on.

Mr. JONES. I would like to ask also whether it is your purpose, Mr. Chairman, or the purpose of the committee, to examine other witnesses on this subject? I do not know exactly why this one witness was taken up and brought here to testify.

The CHAIRMAN. Right there I think it is due to the committee and to the War Department and to the witness for me to call attention to something I have received from the Secretary of War. He told me of this yesterday, but they could not find these papers, but have found them since. This letter reads as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT, Washington, May 31, 1902.

DEAR MR. COOPER: I inclose an original letter received by me last March from Mr. Buencamino's nephew, Mr. Jose C. Abreu, which shows the way in which Mr. Buencamino happened to come to this country. This is the first that I heard of it,

and on this I cabled General Chaffee to give him accommodations on a transport. I inclose also a copy of a card to which the letter refers. Please return the letter when you are through with it.

I inclose also a copy of my answer to Mr. Abreu's letter, which contains the cablegram to General Chaffee.

Sincerely, yours,

ELIHU ROOT.

HON. HENRY A. COOPER,
Chairman Committee on Insular Affairs, House of Representatives.

Now, here is the letter, dated March 14, 1902, as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 14, 1902.*

HONORABLE SECRETARY OF WAR, *City.*

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I respectfully send you herewith a card from Mr. F. Buencamino, which he requested me to transmit to you.

In Mr. Buencamino's behalf I have the honor to submit the following matter to your attention. He says that he would be delighted to be afforded an opportunity to visit this country, and to this effect if you would only be pleased to have General Chaffee grant him the privilege of traveling as an officer and not as mere soldier aboard one of the military transports, his wishes will be gratified.

Very respectfully,

JOSE C. ABREU.

He is a nephew of Mr. Buencamino. Then Mr. Root, the Secretary of War, wrote to Abreu:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, March 20, 1902.

MY DEAR MR. ABREU: I thank you for the card from Mr. Felipe Buencamino. I have sent to General Chaffee the following telegraphic dispatch:

"Present to Felipe Buencamino the compliments of the Secretary of War, who would be glad to see him in the United States, and furnish him with such accommodations on a regular army transport as would be given an officer of rank."

With respect and high esteem, I am,

Very sincerely, yours,

ELIHU ROOT.

MR. JOSE C. ABREU,
Insular Division, War Department, Washington, D. C.

The card referred to is as follows:

MANILA, P. I., *February 27, 1902.*

MR. ROOT, *War Secretary.*

MY DEAR SIR: Permit me to offer you my congratulations for your policy over my people Philippine Islands. In my people name, I request that you send promptly hereto Governor Taft.

Respectfully,

FELIPE BUENCAMINO,
Sanguito 316, Tondo.

That is the way that Mr. Buencamino happened to come here.

MR. JONES. Now, with reference to his appearance before this committee.

THE CHAIRMAN. With reference to his appearance before this committee the Secretary informed me that he was here and asked if I would like to have him come before the committee. I told him that I would, and that I thought the members of the committee would like to have him, and so we made arrangements for to-day. I did not know anything of it until yesterday.

MR. JONES. As this witness has referred to Mr. Sixto Lopez being in Boston at this time, and has indicated that he entertained different views from those entertained by himself, and has also spoken of his honesty in entertaining those views, would it not be possible for the committee to have him appear and hear him after this witness has finished, so that we would have both sides of this case presented by

these two Filipinos, both of them of great intelligence and honesty, who entertain different views?

Mr. TAWNEY. Is he the man you referred to as belonging to the junta?

Mr. JONES. Yes; Sixto Lopez. He is now in Boston.

Mr. LOUD. How long since he has been in the Philippine Islands? It is a question of getting this man down here and getting his views; but here is a man who is here now and from whom we can get some practical information.

Mr. JONES. Nearly all of this man's testimony has been with reference to 1898 and 1899.

Mr. LOUD. No; to my mind he is simply telling how the war broke out.

The CHAIRMAN. How long has Sixto Lopez been in this country?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. As I have no relations with this gentleman, I can not say. I do not know if he has been here constantly since he came.

The CHAIRMAN. How long since he has been in the Philippine Islands, if you know, generally?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Seven years.

Mr. LOUD. Well, he must have a good deal of practical knowledge to give this committee, must he not?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Jones, I understand that that is the reason the Senate committee refused to call him.

Mr. JONES. I do not know—

The CHAIRMAN. It is simply a question of judgment, and he is a member of the junta who has been outside as an agitator and has not been back to acquire any practical knowledge.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Has this gentleman been before the Senate committee?

A MEMBER. No, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. The Senate committee is still holding sessions?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. He has referred to Mr. Lopez as a gentlemen of honesty, and he says that he is in Boston, and of course he can be easily gotten, and I want to move that the committee request him to attend and testify at the conclusion of the testimony of this witness.

Mr. TAWNEY. In view of the fact that he has not been in the Philippine Islands for seven years—

Mr. BUENCAMINO. He left there, but I do not know whether he has been back or not—whether he has been here constantly during the whole time.

Mr. TAWNEY. Do you know whether he has been in the Philippine Islands during that time, since he left, seven years ago?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir; I do not know.

Mr. TAWNEY. Would you likely have known of it had he been back?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I would assuredly have known of that if he had returned. I can positively state that he has not been there since 1895.

Mr. TAWNEY. In view of that fact, I do not see what testimony the gentleman could give, except to make a speech on the information which others communicated to him.

Mr. JONES. I should be very glad to hear him, because probably he is the most intelligent Filipino in this country.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I will state that had Sixto Lopez been over there he would have joined us in the insurrection. He was absent at the time as Agoncilla's emissary.

The CHAIRMAN. I should think that a witness should first qualify before he is allowed to testify. That rule obtains in all proceedings at law, the qualifications of the witness being inquired into by the court. I would myself be opposed to calling a man so long absent from the islands.

(Informal discussion upon the motion of Mr. Jones followed.)

Mr. LOUD. Let me suggest that the witness be excused until 2 o'clock, and we can settle this matter among ourselves.

Mr. TAWNEY. I move that we take a recess until 2 o'clock.

Mr. JONES. Are you going to vote upon my motion after recess?

The CHAIRMAN. You have heard the motion of Mr. Jones that Sixto Lopez come here and testify.

The motion referred to was here put to the committee and lost, and the committee then took a recess until 2 o'clock p. m.

AFTER RECESS.

The CHAIRMAN. Please state what the Commission is doing over in the Philippine Islands, and what effect the school system which they have established is having.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. The civil commission began its work on the 19th of November, 1900. When I left Manila in April of this year, the civil commission had enacted three hundred and forty-seven laws. That is to say, one law every three days, which included the code of civil procedure, composed of more than seven hundred articles, and the municipal and provincial codes, each of which has more than three hundred sections. My duty in the civil-service board is to read all these laws in Spanish in order to ascertain whether there is any conflict with other laws, and in such case I would state to the government of the Philippines that they do so conflict. In addition to this immense intellectual work, which has cost the health of Judge Ide and has even caused the illness of Commissioner Moses, and was the direct cause of Governor Taft's illness—since that date, November, 1900—the civil commission has gone through more than thirty-seven provinces of the archipelago establishing the provincial governments. I have a memorandum of more than six hundred speeches made by Governor Taft on that trip. The speeches referred to the policy and to the pleasure of the Commission with regard to the hospitality of the Filipinos. I have also memoranda showing that the executive secretary, Mr. Ferguson, has made more than two thousand speeches as interpreter—six hundred for Mr. Taft and six hundred for the residents of the provinces.

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask you how these people are pleased with the system of education?

Mr. TAWNEY. We have sent a good many school-teachers over there.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I understand that the gentleman wishes me to reply to the question of the public schools?

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. We have now 7,500 public schools in the islands, with 1,200 American teachers, the remainder being Filipinos. Two

hundred thousand children attend these public schools, and 20,000 adults attend the night schools.

Now, not as formerly, the fathers of families do not send their children to Manila, as they now have schools of fuller education in their own towns. After the alphabet is taught, according to the American method, the elements of arithmetic, history, and geography are taught, all of which subjects were never taught during the Spanish times, because under the Spanish Government nothing but reading and writing were taught if anything was taught at all. After that, Christian doctrine by Father Astete. So that we feel great satisfaction, because we can say that at least 2 per-cent of the present population is studying according to American methods. Under the Spanish Government the number of schools never exceeded 600. There were never more than 30,000 children who attended the schools when they did attend. Consequently the condition of public education is a very satisfactory one.

From personal observation, there are two defects.

First. The number of American teachers is too small and should be increased; they should number at least 6,000, as requested at the public discussion of the subject, because having 800 pacified municipalities, to which will soon be added some other pacified provinces, we will need a good many more teachers.

The second defect observed, and which I consider it my duty to submit to your consideration, is that the salaries paid to the American teachers are too small. They should be doubled in order to obtain the best teachers, because it is preferable to pay large salaries for a period of five years rather than to pay small salaries for twenty years. I believe at the expiration of the term of five years, with well-paid teachers, scholars will be able to become Philippine teachers, who can be paid very small salaries. Consequently, for the purposes of the progress of the people, and from an economical standpoint, it is cheaper to pay high salaries now and take more teachers there than not to do so, having a small number of teachers badly paid.

The necessity of our people is education, and consequently I deem it my duty to submit to the consideration of the committee this necessity and the remedy which, in my opinion, might be applied.

With your permission I will make another observation on the subject. In view of the period of one year and five months, during which the civil government, established by the civil commission, has been working—that is to say, from November, 1900, to July 1, 1901—the civil commission in its legislative capacity and thereafter, after said period from the 1st of July to the present, in its legislative and executive character, the Commission has not had an opportunity to extend its instruction in the higher branches, and the result is that the only higher instruction in the Philippines is that given by the friars at the following:

The University of St. Thomas, College of San Juan de Letran, the Municipal Atheneum, the College of San Beda, the College of St. Joseph. These are for males.

Then there is the College of Santa Isabel, the College of St. Catharine, the College of La Concordia, the College of Looban, the College of San Pablo, the College of the Society of Jesus.

The last seven named are institutions for women. Higher instruc-

tion is given in these colleges, as already stated, and in the University of St. Thomas' medicine, law, pharmacy, and chemistry are also taught. Consequently the higher class of families in Manila, who are those who can afford higher education for their children, who have nothing to do with the friars, make the sacrifice of sending their children to America, but those who have not much money and are friendly to the friars have sent their children to the friar colleges referred to.

There is one important question in this connection. The hostility of the friars to the American Government is evident. There has been a recent example of this. The cholera appeared on Palm Sunday. On that day and the following days—that is, during holy week—it is the custom in a Catholic town like Manila to attend the confessional, and the friars took the occasion in the confessional to state that cholera existed only in the imagination of the Americans. Their object in doing this was to prevent the Filipinos from complying with the sanitary measures of the Government in regard to cholera in order that cholera might extend, because by the cholera they make much money on account of funerals, churches, candles, and confessionals, and finally because in this manner they take the attention of the Philippine people away from the reforms which the Americans are introducing.

I wish to state, Mr. Chairman, that there should be added in the bill a precept in addition to the allowance which has been previously requested that the department of public instruction establish immediately universities and colleges for higher education if we desire to prevent the children of these higher classes from coming under the prejudicial direction of the friars. That is all I have to say.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Jones, you may ask such questions as you wish.

Mr. JONES. Mr. Chairman, we did not want to make any examination until after you gentlemen have finished asking your questions.

The CHAIRMAN. I am through.

Mr. JONES. Our desire is to proceed without being interrupted, and therefore we prefer to wait until the majority of the committee is through.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. What percentage of the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands are uneducated?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Before answering that question I desire to state what I understand by the word "education."

Mr. CRUMPACKER. Perhaps I had better substitute the word "illiterate."

Mr. BUENCAMINO. About 85 per cent. That is only problematical, because no census has ever been taken in the Philippines.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. I understood you to say that 85 per cent were illiterate.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. That is right.

Mr. HITT. Eighty-five per cent of the people of the Philippines can not read or write?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. What means of communication have the people of the different provinces with each other?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. It is evident that if they do not know Spanish they have no communication, unless they belong to a specific tribe, such as one Visayan with another Visayan, as one Tagalo with another

Tagalo, but a Tagalo and a Visayan can not communicate with each other, and it is necessary for them to know Spanish in order to communicate with each other.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. How many different dialects are there, approximately? That is, how many different dialects and languages are there, approximately, in the archipelago?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. They have been reduced to eight. There are 4,000,000 people who speak Visayan. I include the Moros of Mindanao, who have communication with the inhabitants of the following provinces: Cebu, Panay, Bohol, Samar, Leyte, Romblon, Masbate, and Ticao.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. In view of the lack of experience of the inhabitants of those islands, and the lack of common language, what, in your opinion, is their capacity for independent self-government?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. With your permission to elaborate on the question of education, I can answer that question fully.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. Certainly.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. In regard to the protection of life, the manner of living within a town, the Philippine people are as educational as any other people. First, before becoming Christians, before the Spaniards came, they had their religious orders. We believe in God, who we call "Bathala o Apo;" we believe in heaven, which we call "fanquit;" we believe in a soul, which we call "calolua;" we believe in sin, which we call "casalanan;" we believe in virtue, which we call "cabanalan;" we believe in a future life, which we call "huling buhay." In the social order the Filipinos believe in the institution of the family, which was called "camaganacan;" we believe in the institution of matrimony as the basis of families, which we call "asaua," and we do not believe in concubinage, which we call "calunia." We also have our literature and we have our writings. We believe in the institution of property, which we call "pagaari," and "nakao," robbery. This is in the social order.

In the political order we were acquainted with community life, which we call bayan, and we were acquainted with the principle of authority, which we call puno. We were acquainted with the principles of justice, which we call catuiran. We believed in the idea of punishment, which we call parusa, and we also believed in the obedience of authority, which we call pagsunud. Consequently, we were educated to know how to protect our lives and our honor, which we call puri, and our property and our families. That was the primitive or prehistoric condition of the Filipinos before the arrival of the Spaniards.

When the Spaniards came they taught us Christianity, the immense benefit of which I can not but acknowledge. This was an incomprehensible act in the fifteenth century, because only the Philippines in the East were selected to be Christianized; and, as is natural, the Christians perfected us and our education with regard to the elementary principles of social life. Spain at that time brought about the unity of the Philippine people, who had been divided into a great many tribes, and established one religion and established one common language, which is the Spanish; one legislation, civil legislation as well as criminal legislation and criminal laws. Consequently, from this point of view of the protection of our honor, life, and interests we are as highly educated as any other people of the world.

Any citizen of the most civilized country of the world could go to the Philippines before this last insurrection and could be sure of his

life, his property, and his interests. The proof of this is that British, German, and French people have resided there for a great many years, trading with the Filipinos. Thus, if we understand by the word "education" what is understood by rational disposition with regard to the protection of life, property, and interests, the Filipinos are well educated. If we understand by "education" culture, then we are entirely uncultured, beginning with myself, and I request this committee to pardon all my lack of culture which may have been shown, because it is not our fault—the Spaniards have not educated us for this. That is what can be said in regard to education.

With regard to political education, we have absolutely none. We have never been politicians, and if it did take place at some time it has been with arms in hand. We have employed our politics in war for destruction and for all that means ruin, and that is the reason for the reaction of many intelligent Filipinos in this connection, and they have all agreed, with the exception of a dozen or so irreconcilables, such as Lopez and others, that what is necessary is American instruction in order that we might know and exercise political rights. So, from a political standpoint, we have no education at all.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. In your opinion, the people of the archipelago are not at this time capable of maintaining an independent self-government and carrying all the responsibilities, domestic and foreign, that that implies?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I can not answer that question, because no census has been taken.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. Are the people, in your opinion, capable of self-government?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No; they are not. Not only they can not govern themselves, but it would not be advisable for them to endeavor to do so.

Mr. TAWNEY. Please explain that.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Self-government, according to my sad experience, not in theory, belongs only to people and nations who can inspire their neighbors with respect and consideration, because international life has become so closely united with national life that the distance between America and France, for example, may be compared to the distance between that gentleman and myself. Electricity and steam have cut down all distances, and consequently all countries are neighbors. The Philippines are now surrounded by the following countries:

On the Chinese Sea by China, Japan, England, and France, and if Russia continues, it will be nearer the Philippines than America, because there will only be a distance of twelve days between Port Arthur and Manila. On the south there is Australia, which is a rising nation. Then there are the Philippines themselves. We have British subjects, French subjects, and German subjects, who represent a capital of many millions of dollars. In the State Department here there are claims from the British Government for indemnity for damages caused with regard to a railroad in Manila. There are also claims of the German, Belgian, and Swiss Governments for damages incurred in Iloilo with regard to the bombardment of that town by the American squadron. If the American Government should now abandon us and give us our own government, all these claims would go to the Philippines, probably each one backed up by a squadron. Let it be supposed that Aguinaldo established a free government

under a system of independence, and he would have a conflict with any of the hundreds of these natives, because he has no idea of what the international responsibility would be. Then we would have an international conflict. Thus he would go on until we would extinguish ourselves forever, and we would suffer the fate of Samoa or of China. For all these reasons I have deduced the inadvisability of our being independent.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. Suppose roads are constructed, public highways and telegraphs and telephones and public schools are instituted and maintained, and a civil government organized in the Philippines with representatives from all the provinces, is it not true that within the course of a generation or two the inhabitants of those islands would have experience and ability enough to operate an independent government?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I desire to repeat what I have already said, that we have never had an opportunity of being politicians.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. The first requirement is to bring the people into a closer touch?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. And to establish a common language and a common literature?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. Those things must be accomplished before independence is thought of?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. I believe that is all.

Mr. OLMSTED. I would like to ask him what proportion of the Filipinos are now in insurrection against the United States.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. They will not exceed 100 persons after the surrender of Malvar. If Malvar had been captured, I would not dare to say this. I am a poor man, and I have nothing but \$100 in my pocket, but I will wager it all to \$1 on a cablegram to the Philippines to verify my statement. I consider it as my sacred duty not to pervert the truth here. Should I not tell the truth I would not be acting against the Americans, but against my own people, and I have had a sad experience. Only by speaking the truth can a country be saved.

Mr. HITT. Does that include Mindanao, when you say that there are only 100 persons in insurrection?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir; not Mindanao.

Mr. HITT. You speak only of Luzon?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Luzon and the Visayas.

Mr. JONES. Does that include Samar?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; Zamora has already surrendered. If Zamora had been captured then I would not have said so. In Samar the soul of the insurrection was not Lucban, but Zamora. I would specially request that the distinction between a surrender and a capture should be observed. General Malvar, with his obstinate resistance, has reached a higher point than any other insurgent general. General Chaffee, as counseled, very well advised, sent General Bell to Batangas, who not only is a brave general, but a diplomat also. General Chaffee did not have to make the war for glory's sake in the Philippines, and what he desired was to close the war as rapidly as possible, for the good of the Filipinos, and to comply with the orders of the American Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Does anyone else desire to ask any questions, gentlemen?

Mr. JONES. I want to ask the gentleman some questions. I understand the witness to say that preparations for the insurrection were begun as far back as October, 1898. Is that so?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, no, no. Preparations, not for the insurrection, but for the war against America.

Mr. JONES. Against America.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir. There could not be an insurrection at that time because America was not the sovereign at that time.

Mr. JONES. The Malolos congress was in session at that time, I believe.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; it met on the 25th of September, 1898.

Mr. JONES. I want to know whether those preparations were inaugurated or sanctioned by the congress then in session?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No; not at all.

Mr. JONES. Well, who were they inaugurated by?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. The preparations were agreed—

Mr. JONES. They seem to have been known to the witness, and I want to know whom they were made by.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I know that because I was the private secretary at this time of Aguinaldo and the director of justice of the army.

Mr. JONES. The private secretary of Aguinaldo?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; of Aguinaldo.

Mr. JONES. The private secretary of Aguinaldo and the director of justice for the army?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. And you know that those preparations were made by Aguinaldo?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Naturally; yes, sir; because we had received telegrams from General Agoncillo saying that he had not been received by President McKinley as a representative of the Philippine government.

Mr. JONES. Yes; I have heard that before.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. And that we were free then to make war against America, because it was not sovereign with regard to the Philippines; and the capitulation—

Mr. JONES. State just what those preparations were.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. To organize the army; organize the militia within Manila, the volunteer corps, in order that at a given moment we might take between two fires the American forces which were on the outskirts of the city of Manila.

Mr. JONES. When was it that you took this deposition of which you spoke, of the major who was in command of the Philippine forces?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. In March.

Mr. JONES. What time in March?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. The beginning of March, 1902, following the February 4.

Mr. JONES. In March following the February 4?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. That deposition was in writing, I suppose?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. What has become of that?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. It has been lost with all my papers.

Mr. JONES. With all whose papers?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. All my own papers. When I was captured all I saved was the clothing I had on my back, and it was in a very dilapidated condition.

Mr. JONES. Did these papers fall into the hands of your captors?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. When Aguinaldo, on the 5th of November, ordered me to go with his family—Aguinaldo's family—he took these papers away from me.

Mr. JONES. Aguinaldo took them from you?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; took them from me.

Mr. JONES. You did not lose them, then?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I did not say that I lost them. I said that they were lost.

Mr. JONES. I would like to know who was present when this deposition was taken—who besides yourself and the major?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Hervasio de Jesus, my clerk, was also present.

Mr. JONES. Where was it taken?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. In the convent of Malolos, on the 3d or 5th of March.

Mr. JONES. And you say that this major testified that he had no knowledge as to whether that first shot was fired by an American soldier or the Filipino forces?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. He stated that he heard a shot when he was in his office, and that he ran out to the place and found there the Americans in a hostile attitude, and gave the order to fire upon them, and that was the beginning of the war.

Mr. JONES. Did he state whether he had secured any information from other sources as to who fired that first shot?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir; there was no occasion to ask any more questions, as the shooting began then and has continued ever since.

Mr. JONES. Is it not generally understood in Manila that that first shot was fired by an American soldier?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir; there exists no opinion on the subject in Manila—that is to say, any founded opinion; there may be a prejudiced opinion.

Mr. JONES. I have not the testimony before me given to the Senate committee by General Otis, but my decided opinion is that he stated that the first shot was fired by an American soldier, and he gave the reasons—that is, why it was fired—

The CHAIRMAN. I agree with you. My recollection is that a man by the name of Grayson, one of the American soldiers, fired it.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. That is the reason I answered that I had no opinion as to that. If General Otis said so, I suppose it was so.

Mr. JONES. Do you not know that an American soldier from the State of Nebraska has stated that he fired that shot, and that it is generally accepted by all intelligent people who know anything about the subject that it was fired by an American soldier?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I think I have read that somewhere, and have also heard it; but it can not be said that all intelligent persons would believe that, because if that were the case there would be nobody but military people in Manila. The Filipinos who were in Manila were full of fear and could not form any opinion; they were scared to death; and the intelligent Filipinos who were in the country were too far away to know anything about it.

Mr. JONES. Is it not generally accepted in Manila, and was it not so accepted when you were there, that an American soldier killed a Filipino by that shot?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No such opinion exists. There are prejudiced opinions. Each party says that the other began it. Each party has its own opinion, and the Filipinos say that the Americans commenced it and the Americans say that the Filipinos commenced it.

Mr. JONES. Did I understand that it is a controverted matter in Manila as to who fired that shot, as to whether it was fired by an American or a Filipino soldier?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I would state that for two years these questions are not discussed at all in Manila. The question upon us now is, whether to be American citizens or not?

Mr. JONES. You did say, however, did you know, that one faction in Manila claimed that that shot was fired by an American soldier, and another faction claimed that it was fired by a Filipino soldier?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No; I said that the major heard this shot, and that then he ordered the first shooting, when he saw the Americans in a hostile attitude.

Mr. JONES. I understand that; but you said a moment ago that this was a controverted question in Manila; that one party, or "band," as you expressed it, or faction, held that the first shot was fired by an American soldier, and the other party contended that it was fired by a Filipino; is that so?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; but that is not a question of information, but rather of prejudice, of passion; but as I say, these questions have been a dead issue for two years in Manila. Nobody thinks any more of that shot, except to cure the injury done by it.

Mr. JONES. If this question is a dead issue in Manila, and has not been discussed for two years in Manila, why did you state in your opening remarks to the committee that you had taken this deposition of this major on this subject and what he stated to be true about it? Why did you make that statement?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Because I was asked by the chairman as to how hostilities broke out, and in answer to that I explained what had been done. And I repeat that the question of that shot is no more discussed in Manila, but the way of remedying the evils which it has caused.

Mr. JONES. And there is no opinion, then, one way or the other, in Manila now as to the truth of the statement of this major upon this subject?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I have heard no opinion on the subject for two years.

Mr. JONES. Where were you at this time?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. In Malolos.

Mr. JONES. How far is that from Manila?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. About 36 miles.

Mr. JONES. What was the general belief or understanding in Malolos at that time as to who fired that shot?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. That it was an attack made by the Americans; that the Americans were going to enslave us; that the Americans were going to deceive us; and that it was necessary—that we had better die than surrender to the Americans. I must confess that that is what everybody felt in Malolos at that time.

Mr. JONES. You all felt—you all felt that, you among the number,

in Malolos at that time, that this attack was made by the American troops?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; because the leaders were in Malolos at that time, and had we had the intention of attacking the Americans at that time we would not have permitted those leaders to be in Malolos.

Mr. JONES. I understood you to say in reply to a question by the chairman that this attack on the part of the Filipinos against the American soldiers was premature; you used that word. Now I understand you to say that your understanding at the time was that this was an attack by the Americans upon the Filipinos. How do you explain that?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I do not say that the attack was a premature one. I say that the hostilities were premature. It was not the day fixed for the breaking out of the hostilities.

Mr. JONES. You do not say, then, that the attack on the part of the Filipinos against the Americans was premature, but that just the breaking out of the hostilities was premature?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; because I say it was premature. I had taken no deposition of the major at that time.

Mr. JONES. I understood you to say that at the time General Luna was killed General Aguinaldo was 75 miles away?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; yes.

Mr. JONES. Who were the slayers of General Luna?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I desire to be excused from answering this question, because I would be obliged to refer to Mr. Aguinaldo, and Mr. Aguinaldo is at the present time an enemy of mine, politically speaking, and a prisoner, and my duty is not to say anything about him. It is also my duty to answer, Mr. Congressman, but if you will permit me, if you will excuse me from answering the question, I will appreciate it very much.

Mr. JONES. I understood the witness to say that Aguinaldo had gone to the place of residence of General Luna, in search of him, and that—

The CHAIRMAN. He did not say in search of him.

Mr. JONES. He did not use the word "search," but looking for him. He had gone—well, I will say in search of him.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. With 4,000 men.

Mr. JONES. With 4,000 men, and that Aguinaldo had gone to the place where General Luna resided with 4,000 men.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. And that in some mysterious way—he used that word—General Luna had departed for Aguinaldo's headquarters.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes.

Mr. JONES. General Luna was in search of Aguinaldo, was he not?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; but without any forces.

Mr. JONES. Without any forces?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Except 50 mounted men, his natural escort.

Mr. JONES. Fifty mounted men?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. His usual escort.

Mr. JONES. And he was killed whilst Aguinaldo was at his place of residence looking for him, accompanied by 4,000 men.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. I understood, too, that some differences had grown up between Aguinaldo and Luna on account of the cruelties practiced by General Luna.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. Were you the private secretary of Aguinaldo at the time?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I was then secretary of state. I had nothing to do with the army.

Mr. JONES. You were then secretary of state and had nothing to do with the army. Was that prior to the time when Mabini was president?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I relieved Mabini, who fell on the 16th. I was secretary of state after Mabini.

Mr. JONES. Was there much feeling on the part of the Filipino people against General Luna on account of his cruelties?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; he had a good many admirers also, especially among the young military men, because he was a very brave man and a gentleman.

Mr. JONES. General Aguinaldo himself was dissatisfied with the course of General Luna, and opposed to the atrocities and cruelties which he practiced, was he not?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; but he also admired his valor and his courage and his military qualities.

Mr. JONES. I understand you to say that Aguinaldo admired the military qualities and courage of General Luna, and that the differences between them grew out of the fact that Aguinaldo did not approve and indorse his cruel course in the conduct of the war?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. That is one of the causes, and the other was the ambition of General Luna to supplant Aguinaldo.

Mr. JONES. I also understand you to say that there was a feeling of relief on the part of the Filipino people, although they did not approve of the killing of Luna, on account of his cruel conduct, and there was a feeling of relief throughout the country at his death?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No; that the Filipino people did not approve of the means which had been employed for the killing of Luna. Luna was found with 36 bolo wounds, and more than 40 bullet wounds.

Mr. JONES. But my question was, they did experience a feeling of relief, although they did not approve of the manner of his taking off.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. They breathed freely, because they considered their lives in danger before his death.

Mr. JONES. There were Filipinos who believed their lives were in danger as long as he lived?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes.

Mr. JONES. In answer to one of the questions which were addressed to you, or it may have been that you made the statement voluntarily, you said there were some 8,000 municipal employees—Filipinos—and that that fact, in your judgment, demonstrated the full capacity of the Filipino people for self-government?

Mr. LOUD. The full capacity was demonstrated by the fact that there were only 10 under suspension.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I did not make that statement. There are 800 municipalities at the elections for which all voters attended and appointed presidents and councilors regularly, and those people who were in those elections are also paying their taxes, and these facts are evidences of the capacity of the Filipinos for local self-government.

Mr. JONES. You did not use that word before; you did not say "local self-government." You said "full capacity for self-government." I think the stenographer's notes will show that you used the words "full capacity for self-government."

Mr. BUENCAMINO. It is possible that I may have made a mistake, but I

repeat it, "local self-government," now, fearing that it may have been a mistake.

Mr. JONES. I remember distinctly that you spoke of the municipalities, but it was not the question that I directed mine to. If I am not mistaken, you said that there were some 8,000 municipal employees, only 10 of whom had been suspended for malfeasance in office.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes; I said that.

Mr. JONES. And it was in that connection that you said "this demonstrates their full capacity for self-government."

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I say "local self-government."

Mr. JONES. You now make it "local self-government."

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I claim that I said that in the beginning.

Mr. JONES. I also understood you to say that you were not in the full confidence of Governor Taft, and that that was because of the fact that you had been a rabid insurrectionist.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No; on account of my radical ideas.

The following is an example: The Bishop of Manila was going to give an order for the distribution of the parishes to the friars, and people came to me and I said, "No objection must be made; no arms must be taken up; no revolution shall be started against the friars, because the American Government guarantees to us the liberty of worship; consequently, if you do not want any more friars, and the Pope and the bishops, the leaders of the friars, force these friars on us, then having liberty of worship, we can change our religion as we see fit, and in this manner enjoy peace and tranquillity which we need so much." And other Filipinos stated to Governor Taft that Mr. Buencamino would cause a religious revolution; and consequently Mr. Taft reproached me. There are other details of the same character which make me differ from Governor Taft. And I understand that I am working as an advocate of my people, and Governor Taft is acting as an American authority who has to contemplate and think of many interests which are protected by the treaty of Paris.

Mr. JONES. Well, is it not a fact that you are a member of the civil government, the American civil government of Manila?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. Are you not one of the three civil-service commissioners, drawing a salary of \$3,500 a year as such?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. Were you not appointed by Governor Taft?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir; that is to say, I was appointed by the military governor, MacArthur.

Mr. JONES. You are now a part of the civil government of which Governor Taft is the head, are you not?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. Now, when did Governor Taft go to the Philippine Islands?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. July, 1900.

Mr. JONES. And you were appointed a civil-service commissioner the 1st of July, 1901, were you not?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. On the last day of General MacArthur's command.

Mr. JONES. That was the 1st of July, 1901?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. You are a part, then, of the civil government of which Governor Taft is the head, and of which he had been the head for

about twelve months, and yet you were appointed by military authority, and not by Governor Taft?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. The 31st of May, 1901, I was appointed by General MacArthur, who the following day ceased in his command.

Mr. JONES. I hold in my hand the official register of the officers and employees in the civil service of the Philippine Islands, issued by the Division of Insular Affairs of the War Department, and I find in that register that Felipe Buencamino, a member of the Philippine civil-service board, of Pampanga, of the Philippine Islands, was appointed July 1, 1901, at \$3,500 annual salary.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; the appointment took effect the 1st of July, 1901, but the person who gave me my appointment was General MacArthur.

Mr. JONES. Who appointed William F. Washburn, who is also a member?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Governor Taft.

Mr. JONES. Governor Taft?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. Who appointed Mr. Pepperman, who is also a member of that board?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Governor Taft—on the recommendation of Governor Taft.

Mr. JONES. Now, Mr. Washburn holds an appointment, according to this register, of the same day, July 1, 1901, and you say that Mr. Washburn was appointed by the civil governor and you by the military commander. How is that?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I say that it is for the simple reason that when I was given my appointment, to take effect on the 1st of July, on the 31st of May, it was the last day of the military government, and Dr. Washburn was not appointed on the 1st of July, but some time in the month of September.

Mr. JONES. Well, your appointment by General MacArthur on the last day of his authority—was that appointment by him in view of the fact that you did not have the full confidence of Governor Taft, and for the purpose of forestalling Governor Taft?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No. I have not stated that. I am incapable of reasoning in that way.

Mr. JONES. You did state that there were certain differences between Governor Taft and yourself; you did say that you were acting as the attorney for your people and he was acting as the representative of this Government, did you not?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir. What I remember having said is the following: When asked what were the sentiments, what are the feelings of the Filipino people with regard to Governor Taft, Mr. Chairman, I answered that Governor Taft is now the idol of the Philippine people, and it is my duty to tell the truth here. I said that I am not in the confidence of Governor Taft in order to support my statement. I say this for the purpose of showing that I do not say so as under any obligations to him for having given me my position, but it is simply justice to say it.

Mr. JONES. Now, I understand that Governor Taft is the idol of the Philippine people, one of the three people whom the Philippine people have idolized; I understand that, and that you do not enjoy the full confidence of Governor Taft. Do you enjoy the full confidence of the Philippine people?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I can not state positively whether I have or have not the absolute confidence of the Philippine people. All I can say are facts, and that twenty governors of provinces, all the heads of the Katipunan Society, as I have proved—I have just received a letter from the presidente of the Federal party, which I will be glad to read if the committee would like——

The CHAIRMAN. You did not finish your sentence. You said twenty governors and somebody else, but you did not state what they did. What did they do?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I have their confidence. If this all signifies the confidence of the people, that is the fact.

Mr. JONES. I suppose that Governor Taft has the confidence of the people, if they idolize him; is that right?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes.

Mr. JONES. You know, then, that Governor Taft has the confidence of the Philippine people?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir——

Mr. JONES. Notwithstanding the fact that he represents the United States Government, and you are acting as the attorney, to use your own words, of the Philippine people?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. How is it, then, that when there are differences between Governor Taft and yourself, which prevent your enjoying the full confidence of Governor Taft——

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I would state that I have not said that I have not confidence in Governor Taft.

Mr. JONES. Not that you have not confidence in Governor Taft, but you said that you did not enjoy the confidence of Governor Taft.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. That is so. I do not believe that I am fully in Governor Taft's confidence.

Mr. JONES. And the reason for that is that you are the attorney for the Philippine people, and Governor Taft is representing American interests. Now, I want to know, if that be so, and Governor Taft still has the utmost confidence of the Philippine people, if you, their special attorney, have also their utmost confidence?

The CHAIRMAN. If I were the lawyer on the other side, I would object to that, because I think you have inserted something in that question that the witness did not say. I do not think the witness said that he (the witness) did not have the confidence of Governor Taft because he was the attorney for the Philippine people.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. That is one of the reasons. I stated what I had thought about the relations of the friars, and what ought to be done, and that Governor Taft and I differed about that.

Mr. JONES. Yes; and that you naturally took a different view from Governor Taft, he being the representative of the American people, and you being the attorney for the Filipino people.

Mr. OLMSTED. He has stated that he differed with Governor Taft in the matter of the friars, and that generally he is the attorney for the Philippine people, but that therefore he has not the confidence of the people is a misstatement of his testimony. I do not understand that he said that Governor Taft did not have confidence in him, but that he was not in his confidence; that is a very different thing.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I am not in the confidence of Governor Taft;

that is, I suppose that that is the case. I do not know that to be the fact, but I suppose that to be the fact—that I am not in the full confidence of Governor Taft—on account of my radical ideas, as in the example I have already cited.

Mr. JONES. Then I will accept that amended statement there. Are there not a great many persons, Filipinos like yourself, who are at the head of affairs of the insurrection and members of the insurrectionary government, or provisional government, who have been appointed to responsible offices by Governor Taft?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. There are a large number.

Mr. JONES. Has it not been the policy of Governor Taft to appoint those persons?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. And still you say, as one of those, that you have not his confidence?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I did not say that I was one of those appointed by Governor Taft. I said that I was not one of those.

Mr. JONES. I will not say "appointed by Governor Taft," but one of those holding office under him. I will put it that way.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir. Notwithstanding that I do not believe that I am in the full confidence of Governor Taft on account of my revolutionary conditions; not on account of having been a prominent insurgent, but on account of—

Mr. JONES. Revolutionary ideas entertained by you at this time?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. "Radical ideas" would express it better than revolutionary conditions, as the example that I just cited about the difficulty as to the friars shows, and relating to the freedom of worship.

Mr. JONES. Do you favor the confiscation of the friars' lands?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. With your permission, I would say that I do not admit that term "confiscation."

Mr. JONES. You can use any other.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Because the friars have no property except their personal property, in accordance with the canons and civil law of Spain.

Mr. JONES. You do not recognize that the friars have any valid title to those four hundred and odd thousand acres of land which they claim?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes; the title is not vested in the friars, but in the church.

Mr. JONES. You do not recognize any title in the friars?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. As friars they have no title. As representatives of the church, yes.

Mr. JONES. Did not the constitution of Malolos—provisional government—did not that congress provide for the confiscation of those lands?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No; no, sir. You can not call it confiscation. To redeem those lands was the purpose; taking them away from the friars and turning them over to the Philippine curates. And if you like, I will explain the idea and my opinion on this subject.

Mr. JONES. I do not care anything particular about that, unless somebody wants to know. I want to ask you about this matter that we have under consideration here, the civil government bill. I want to ask him if I understood him correctly to say that he thoroughly

indorsed this bill, that he had read most of the bill and thoroughly indorsed it; that he thought there ought to be one or two things added to it, but so far as it went he thoroughly indorsed it?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I do; but there are some more things besides what I spoke of this morning that I would like to see added to it.

Mr. JONES. You especially approve that the lower house should be elected by the Filipino people?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. Do you approve of the upper branch of that congress being composed of the Taft Commission?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; temporarily.

Mr. JONES. Temporarily?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; temporarily.

Mr. JONES. Do you mean by that that ultimately both branches ought to be elected by the people?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. After this provisional law, after this provisional arrangement, after a census has been taken, and both Americans and Filipinos have put a social and economic stamp on it, then I would request that the Filipinos be declared American citizens; I would demand annexation.

Mr. JONES. Then you regard this as a provisional measure, and not as a permanent government?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes; because, as I said before, it is not time now for the Filipinos to think of independence. They are like a sick man, full of wounds, and what he needs is to convalesce. When this sick people becomes healthy and is better advised of American methods, which will be within three or four years, then the future policy of the Philippines can be decided.

Mr. JONES. You think, then, that in three or four years, under American tutelage, with peace and order prevailing in the islands, that the Philippine people would be able to stand alone?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No; I do not. They will be capable then of thinking of doing so, of considering whether to remain alone, or to demand annexation. They will be capable at that time of determining whether they desire to be annexed to the United States or to have their independence. That is my opinion.

Mr. JONES. Now, in the event that they should determine, after this provisional period of which you speak, of three or four years, that they desire annexation, in what way would they have annexation to the United States?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. In the same way as the States, the other States, have been annexed to the United States; in some cases as States, and in other cases not as States, until later.

Mr. JONES. As Territories, with the ultimate idea of becoming States of the Union?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. Is not that the policy of the Federal party, of which you are a member?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. Is your party opposed to the United States holding the Philippine Islands as a colony and governing it as a colony?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; the Federal party are opposed to it.

Mr. JONES. Are not all Filipinos united in their opposition to such a course as that?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No; because there is some party that is quite respectable and which demands an autonomous form of government like that of Canada and Australia.

Mr. JONES. There are respectable people——

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I mean by respectable, the high class of people, or influential. There are some.

Mr. JONES. There are some? What proportion of the inhabitants of the islands, do you think—what per cent do you think would favor such a government as that—a colonial government?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. About 15 per cent desire a colonial government.

Mr. JONES. About 15 per cent?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. About 15 per cent, sir, the colonial government.

Mr. JONES. What per cent of the Philippine people—I mean the civilized people—are members of your party?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. With the exception of about one hundred persons, they all belong to the Federal party.

Mr. JONES. With the exception——

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Speaking of intellectual people.

Mr. JONES. Only about one hundred of the intellectual part of the civilized and Christianized population of the Philippine Archipelago are outside of your political organization?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I could give you the names of the persons if you desire it.

Mr. JONES. And you think you could name every one of those outside of the ranks of your party?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Almost all. If you wish, I will be glad to give you a list of them.

Mr. JONES. I do not care about the list. I have seen it stated by quite a number of people in magazine articles, and by Filipinos of intelligence, that 70 per cent of the civilized people of the Philippine Islands could read and write, and I have seen it stated by one writer that as many as 90 per cent could read and write. You place it at about 15 per cent?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. That is my opinion and belief from what I know, but it is not a founded or formal opinion, because we have never had a true census. The Spanish census of 1887 indicates a population of 5,000,000 inhabitants for the Philippines, and the census of 1898 had still the same population. With regard to the percentage of educated people, or anything else, there is nothing but unfounded opinion. There is no exact estimate made. So that, notwithstanding I have said that there are only 15 per cent of illiterates, another writer can say as he pleases—that there are 70 per cent, for instance—without my daring to say that he misstates the fact. The only thing I can say is that he has no means of proving his statements.

Mr. JONES. When you speak of reading and writing, do you mean people who can read and write any dialect, or in what vernacular——

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I refer to any language.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me suggest right there that that does exactly corroborate what Governor Taft says on page 27 of his testimony.

Mr. JONES. I do not remember what he said on that subject. Now, you said that the salaries of the teachers out there ought to be doubled?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. Do you know what salaries are being paid to American teachers who are being sent out there?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I can not state exactly just now, but I believe \$75.

Mr. JONES. I have the list here, and I want to read the salaries to you and ask your opinion. I observe, in looking over this list published by the Division of Insular Affairs of the War Department, that the first of the teachers, a man named Eaton, gets \$2,000, that several get \$1,680 a year, a large number get \$1,600 a year, quite a number \$1,380 a year; there are quite a number of pages of the names of those who draw \$1,200 a year, a large number of them drawing as much as \$1,180 a year, and a large number drawing \$1,000 a year. Now, do you think, after my having stated what those teachers are being paid, their salaries ought to be doubled?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Those who receive \$1,000 should receive double.

Mr. JONES. They should receive double?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. And others in proportion, so that the lowest salary should be \$2,000.

Mr. JONES. You think the lowest salary should be \$2,000?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. How many months in a year do they teach?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Every day, with the exception of the vacations and the holidays. There are three months of vacation during the hot season—April, May, and June.

Mr. JONES. What proportion of these American teachers can read and write the Spanish language?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Those of them who have been soldiers write and read Spanish. Of those who are recently arrived there are also many, but the larger portion do not.

Mr. JONES. What proportion of those 200,000 children who are in the public schools are writing and reading the Spanish language?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. The greater portion can not speak Spanish.

Mr. JONES. You live in Manila, do you not?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; and I am familiar with many provinces.

The CHAIRMAN. I understood you to say to the witness that there are teachers there at \$2,500.

Mr. JONES. No, sir; I did not. I said there was one there at \$2,000, the first one, and then I read the list. There are inspectors there, and persons of that sort, I think, who get more than that, but I commenced at the teachers.

Mr. OLMSTED. That is in Mexican money, is it not?

There is one at \$2,000, but there are a great many below that.

The CHAIRMAN. The Commission say here that the superintendent was authorized to obtain from the United States 1,000 trained teachers at not less than \$75 and not more than \$125 a month, the exact salary to be fixed by the general superintendent, so that the limit was \$125 maximum.

Mr. OLMSTED. Is that Mexican money?

Mr. JONES. No; that is American money; that is gold.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Illinois. It might affect the judgment of the witness a little, if he wants them to be doubled.

Mr. JONES. I saw it stated in an article in the North American Review, which I read a short time ago, written by a distinguished American who visited Manila and other parts of the islands, that when one of the transports conveying teachers to Manila arrived at Manila

the authorities refused to permit eight of them to land, and had them sent back to San Francisco, because of immoralities practised on the trip out there. Do you know anything of that?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No.

Mr. JONES. You never heard of that?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir.

Mr. JONES. You can not say whether it is true or not?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I do not know.

Mr. JONES. You are familiar with the Malolos government, I believe?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. Were there any Filipino representatives in that government other than Tagalos?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. Were the Visayan Islands represented in that body?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. All of the islands represented?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No.

Mr. JONES. I mean all of the Visayan Islands?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No.

Mr. JONES. Which ones, if you can remember, of the Visayan Islands were represented in that body?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. All the provinces had their representatives, Luzon and the Visayan Islands, but in some of the provinces, the representatives of some of the provinces were elected by suffrage, but others appointed by Aguinaldo. The way I understood your question was whether the Visayan provinces were represented by election or not.

Mr. JONES. I did not limit it to that, but I would like to have you explain that, how they were represented?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. They were all represented, but none by election.

Mr. JONES. None of the Visayan Islands were represented by election?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Because they had no communication until the month of December, 1898.

Mr. JONES. Did all the members of that congress speak the Spanish language?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. They all spoke the Spanish language?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. How long does it take a Visayan to acquire the Tagalog?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. About six months. The Tagalo can learn Visayan and the Visayan can learn Tagalog in about the same period, about six months, as well as any of the other dialects, Pampangan, and so forth.

Mr. JONES. Do you think, then, that if the Government of the United States should establish such a government for the Philippines as provided for in this bill, which you have read, that after an experience under that government for, say, three or four years, the representatives from the Visayan Islands and Luzon would be able to acquire each other's language and be able to communicate in that way?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir; I do not believe it.

Mr. JONES. Not in three or four years?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. In English; yes, sir. In three or four years.

Mr. JONES. How is that?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. They can communicate in English. I think that

in three or four years they would be able to communicate in English—the majority of them.

Mr. JONES. Well, would a representative government of that sort, lasting three or four years, in your opinion, inculcate a national spirit, such a national spirit as they have not now?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. The national spirit exists at the present time. That was the reason for the revolution.

Mr. JONES. Then, in your opinion there is such a thing as a national spirit in the islands?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. And you do not believe that there are more than 100 people in the Visayan Islands and Luzon to-day engaged in insurrection against the United States?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir.

Mr. JONES. Is there, then, in view of that fact, any necessity for retaining any considerable number of United States troops in the islands?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; there is a necessity on account of the non-Christians, on account of the Moros.

Mr. JONES. My question was directed to the civilized and Christianized islands.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I still believe that the necessity for the troops is evident yet, and that after Congress has made provisions and this chamber of Filipinos has been elected and order has been perfectly assured then the troops can be withdrawn little by little. To withdraw the troops at once does not appear prudent to me, although I have no serious reasons, because Malvar has surrendered and was not captured.

Mr. JONES. Will it ever be safe to withdraw our troops from the non-Christian islands, so long, I mean, as we exercise rights of sovereignty over those islands?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. From Mindanao they should never be withdrawn, as I consider the Moros not capable of civilization. They do not recognize the principle of family, like the Christians. They are Mohammedans, and therefore permit polygamy.

Mr. JONES. How as to the Jolo Islands?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. They are like Mindanao, Moro Islands.

Mr. JONES. The Sulu Islands, the Sulu Archipelago?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I refer to that, also. The same applies to the provinces of Samar, Bohol, and Leyte.

Mr. JONES. And the Visayan Islands?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. The last named belong to the Visayan group.

Mr. JONES. And we will always have to have troops there?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Not always, temporarily, though, until the action of the teachers has shown results—that is, the action of the American teachers—because these people are very ignorant, to such an extent that there is no attorney, no physician, no literary man from Samar or Bohol, while in the province of Panay, which is situated near these provinces, there are more than 50 attorneys, physicians, pharmacists, and other scientific men.

Mr. PATTERSON. Who, if anyone, is paying your expenses over here?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. PATTERSON. Who?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. My party—the Federal party.

Mr. PATTERSON. Whom did you consult in Manila before you left?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. With my party.

Mr. PATTERSON. Did you get leave of absence from the Commission before you left?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. PATTERSON. Does your salary go on?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir; I am only entitled to thirty days' leave with pay, according to the law of the Philippine Commission. I have four months' leave.

Mr. PATTERSON. Did you get the consent of the Commission to leave?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. The civil governor is the one who gives the permission. He gave me four months' leave.

Mr. PATTERSON. When did you come to Washington?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. The 28th of May.

Mr. PATTERSON. Whom have you consulted with since you have been here—what officials?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I presented myself to my chief, the Secretary of War, and afterwards I have paid my respects to the President, and I have gone nowhere else except Mount Vernon.

Mr. PATTERSON. Did you come here for the purpose of testifying?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir. I came here with that special charge from the Federal party to lay these matters before Congress.

Mr. PATTERSON. What matters did you want to lay before Congress?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. The question of annexation, and then the question of amnesty; that is to say, all the petitions of the Federal party.

Mr. PATTERSON. Do you mean to say that you came here for the purpose of urging the annexation of the Philippine Islands upon the part of the Federal party?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; that was the intention, because we had understood that there was to be a definite law and not a temporary one passed.

Mr. PATTERSON. Do you understand now that this bill does not make the Philippine Islands part of the United States?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. PATTERSON. And are you still in favor of the bill?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No; I am not in favor of the law at all. I wish to be an American citizen at once.

Mr. PATTERSON. The bill here, then, you do not approve of?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I would like to be given the power to approve or disapprove of it before that question would be asked. Then the question would be a just one.

Mr. PATTERSON. Do you mean that you would like the question to be submitted to the Philippine people for their consideration?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I have no opinion to express in this regard at all.

Mr. PATTERSON. Please express an opinion, as the attorney of the Federal party, as to a bill which makes a colony of the Philippine Islands and annexes them as a part of the United States.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. If that law is a definite law, I do not approve of it.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean by definite, permanent?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; but if it is a temporary measure, it is

much better, because at the present time no American knows, or even the Filipinos themselves, the condition of the islands.

Mr. PATTERSON. How do you know what the Americans know on the subject?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No census has been taken, and the Americans, no matter how wise they are, can know no more than any other man, as they have no divine sight; but if they have this divine sight, I would defer to that.

Mr. PATTERSON. Is the universal idea of the Federal party for ultimate annexation?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. PATTERSON. When were you captured?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. In November, 1899.

Mr. PATTERSON. At that time were you and Aguinaldo friends?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. PATTERSON. When did you become enemies?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I was never his personal enemy, but political.

Mr. PATTERSON. When did you get to be political enemies?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Since May 28, 1900.

Mr. PATTERSON. That was how long after you were captured?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Six months.

Mr. PATTERSON. What were you doing in May, 1900—where were you?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I was a prisoner.

Mr. PATTERSON. Where?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. The only secretary of Aguinaldo who was in prison five months.

Mr. PATTERSON. Where?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I was imprisoned in Manila by General Otis.

Mr. PATTERSON. Why was it that you became Aguinaldo's political enemy?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Because while I was in prison I had the opportunity to consider the municipal code enacted by General Lawton before his death. In this municipal code I observed the principle of local self-government; and I also saw the marriage law declared by General Otis, in which law I observed the principle of freedom of worship. Then the law of criminal procedure prepared by General Otis, in which I saw the principle of the habeas corpus embodied; and then I read the Constitution of the United States. All this, together with the good treatment, although strictly incommunicado, which I received at the hands of the American authorities, and I having revolted against the Spaniards for the purpose of securing these three principles of liberty—that is to say, personal liberty procured by the habeas corpus, liberty of conscience assured by the marriage law, and the local self-government, which is what the Filipinos now need—and having seen this enacted by the military during the time of war and combat, when we were killing Americans without compassion of any kind, then my eyes were opened and I understood that the war was useless, and by pacification and recognition of American sovereignty we would get many more advantages than we would have had under the Filipino government. After three months considering these matters, and when I got more exact data of the principles of government of the United States, and that after having recognized American sovereignty we would become American citizens, that was the reason I

changed my views and wrote to General Otis telling him that I was then—

Mr. PATTERSON (addressing the interpreter). Tell him not to go too far with his answers, but simply answer my questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Let him proceed; he is answering the question; he said he wrote to General Otis.

Mr. PATTERSON. Go on.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. And then upon being released, as General Otis was relieved by General MacArthur, then I requested General MacArthur for permission to make peace, which was granted.

Mr. PATTERSON. Did you write to General Otis, and how long after you experienced this change of sentiment before you were released from prison?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. One month and a half.

Mr. PATTERSON. Did you ask to be released from prison when you wrote General Otis the letter?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir.

Mr. PATTERSON. How long after you were released from prison before you were appointed on this civil-service board?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I was released on the 15th of April, 1900, and was appointed July 1, 1901: one year and two months.

Mr. PATTERSON. When were you promised the appointment?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. It was not solicited, and I had not been promised it.

Mr. PATTERSON. General MacArthur appointed you?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. PATTERSON. When did he appoint you?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. The 31st of May, 1901.

Mr. PATTERSON. How long before that time did you know you were to be appointed?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I repeat that I never solicited an appointment nor had I been promised any appointment.

Mr. PATTERSON. Did you not represent Aguinaldo as his confidential friend and adviser and private secretary?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir.

Mr. PATTERSON. Were you not acquainted with Aguinaldo's secret and intentions?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Before writing to General Otis I had written to General Aguinaldo.

Mr. PATTERSON. I am not asking whether you wrote to him, but whether or not you were in possession of Aguinaldo's secrets.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir. They are not Aguinaldo's secrets—secrets of the Philippine government.

Mr. PATTERSON. Were you in possession of the secrets of the Philippine government, and did you not betray those secrets to the American officers?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir.

Mr. PATTERSON. And was it not for that betrayal that you were given this position?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Do you mean to imply that the Americans would only give appointment to those who would betray—

Mr. PATTERSON. I am not asking that. I am asking whether you were given the appointment because you betrayed the secrets and experienced a change of heart?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I say emphatically, no.

Mr. PATTERSON. Where did you live after you got out of prison?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. At the house of my father-in-law, in Manila.

Mr. PATTERSON. What employment did you have before you were employed on the Commission?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Interpreter for General MacArthur in the department of war.

Mr. PATTERSON. And as interpreter for General MacArthur did you not betray the insurrectos with whom you formerly associated?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No; because I had written to them before my appointment.

Mr. PATTERSON. When did you go into the employment of General MacArthur as his interpreter?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. In the month of October, 1900, as interpreter of Tagalo into Spanish.

Mr. PATTERSON. How much were you paid as interpreter to General MacArthur?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Seventy-five dollars; what I paid one of my clerks when I was an attorney.

Mr. PATTERSON. Did you remain as interpreter to General MacArthur until you were appointed on the board?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. PATTERSON. Did you have any employment before you were employed by General MacArthur in the government?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir.

Mr. PATTERSON. Were you captured or did you give yourself up?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes; I was captured.

Mr. PATTERSON. Whom with and where?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. With Aguinaldo's mother and child in Cabaruan, in the province of Pangasinan; but I was not captured by the American Army. I was captured by those who were called the guards of honor, who were natives of Pangasinan, which was an organization against the revolution. They captured me and turned me over to the American commander.

Mr. PATTERSON. If Aguinaldo had succeeded, what would have become of you?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Simply I would have been shot just as my brother was.

Mr. PATTERSON. Your brother was shot as a traitor, was he not; or, rather, the charge was made against him?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir; he was assassinated.

Mr. PATTERSON. That was because he gave away the secrets of the insurrection, was it not?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Not at all; he never had been an insurgent.

Mr. PATTERSON. Why was he assassinated?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Because orders had been given that anybody advocating peace should be shot.

Mr. PATTERSON. When was he shot?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. He was assassinated in October, 1901.

Mr. PATTERSON. Where was he shot?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. He was assassinated in the province of Balacan, in the barrio of Bolivar, with eight Americans who were prisoners and who were also assassinated.

Mr. PATTERSON. Had your brother joined the American Army?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. He was just going along with them.

Mr. PATTERSON. For what purpose?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. He was on his way to his own town.

Mr. PATTERSON. He was an insurrecto?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir; my brother was not an insurrecto.

Mr. PATTERSON. How many Filipinos were killed by the American troops?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I can not say.

Mr. PATTERSON. Give an estimate.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. There may be a large number.

Mr. PATTERSON. Give an estimate.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I can not, for the simple reason that they were divided into guerilla bands, and consequently it is impossible.

Mr. PATTERSON. How many, in your judgment, have been killed?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I can not tell; I do not know; I have not the remotest idea on the subject.

Mr. PATTERSON. Have as many as 100,000 been killed? I have seen it stated that high.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No; I do not think so.

Mr. PATTERSON. When you joined the Federal party were any representations made to you that the Philippine Islands would be annexed as part of the United States?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir; I founded the Federal party myself, because it was my idea that annexation is the natural sequence of the provisions of the treaty of Paris.

Mr. PATTERSON. Had the Filipinos and the Americans formed an alliance before the city of Manila fell?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir.

Mr. PATTERSON. They had not?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir.

Mr. PATTERSON. At any time had they formed an alliance against the Spanish?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir; because Aguinaldo is the only one who had anything to do with Admiral Dewey, and the Filipinos and the Americans have never had long relations with each other.

Mr. PATTERSON. Were the Filipinos armed by the Americans?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. PATTERSON. Before the city of Manila fell?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No; afterwards.

Mr. PATTERSON. How many rifles were given them?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. After the fall of the city of Cavite they received arms.

Mr. PATTERSON. How many arms?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. About 190, not formally delivered to them, but the Spaniards in leaving the city of Cavite, the city was entered by the Filipinos, and Admiral Dewey sent word that he was not going to fight the Filipinos. Then they found the arms there abandoned by the Spaniards and took them. After that they received nothing.

Mr. PATTERSON. Did Admiral Dewey or anyone else ever furnish arms to the Filipinos?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir. The person who smuggled arms to the Filipinos was an American.

Mr. PATTERSON. How many arms were smuggled?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Nineteen hundred arms.

Mr. PATTERSON. Could the city of Manila have been captured by the Filipinos without the aid of the Americans?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. It would have been impossible. Aguinaldo would not have been able to have continued the Filipino people in revolt if he had not stated that the United States had promised to recognize the independence of the Philippines.

Mr. PATTERSON. Were the Filipinos struggling for their independence against Spain?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. At the beginning, no; but when Aguinaldo said that Admiral Dewey had promised him independence, then they fought for independence, and they would have accepted independence.

Mr. PATTERSON. Do the Filipinos desire free trade with this country?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. The sugar and tobacco producers desire free trade.

Mr. PATTERSON. Does the great mass of the people desire it?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No; because the mass of the people has seen that the Government gives the money to the Filipinos, and the money is necessary there because there are many ruins to repair. The people accept the Dingley law, but if the tariff could be reduced 50 per cent it would be better.

Mr. PATTERSON. You say if the tariff could be reduced 50 per cent it would be better?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. PATTERSON. Are you satisfied with the 25 per cent reduction in the tariff bill?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I will be satisfied with 50 per cent.

Mr. PATTERSON. Do you understand from this bill that it will be impossible for the Filipinos to pass any law to govern themselves?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. That is natural, because there could not be two governments in the same country.

Mr. PATTERSON. Do the Filipinos desire to govern themselves, locally?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. PATTERSON. Do they desire to say whether or not there shall be a tariff to this country?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No; what they wish is that the Constitution should follow the flag.

Mr. PATTERSON. That is what we want. What do you understand by "the Constitution following the flag?"

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I have no specific ideas on that subject. I only know that there is a fact; that is, the treaty of Paris.

Mr. PATTERSON. Do you want the laws of this country to obtain and be in effect in the Philippine Islands?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Before the laws of the United States should be applied there, I desire the education of our people.

Mr. PATTERSON. And before that time you are satisfied with any law that is passed by Congress or the Commission?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Provided that it tends to the education of my people and brings progress in commerce, agriculture, and industries, which I call "the curing of the country's wounds."

Mr. PATTERSON. Do the Filipino people as a people desire liberty?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. They desire liberty moderated by justice.

Mr. PATTERSON. What do you mean by "liberty moderated by justice?"

Mr. BUENCAMINO. That liberty should not be granted to a man who does not know how to use it. We have had examples in the French revolution of absolute liberty. We have seen in the United States Constitution that the word "liberty" is not used, but the phrase used is "all the blessings of liberty."

Mr. PATTERSON. What do you mean by "liberty?"

Mr. BUENCAMINO. The right of protection to life, honor, and property, to the public welfare, the protection of the general welfare. Those are the blessings of liberty.

Mr. PATTERSON. Do the Filipinos desire those blessings?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Most assuredly.

Mr. PATTERSON. Do they want to say themselves how these blessings are to be brought about, and to make their own laws, and have their own people in office?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; they do.

Mr. PATTERSON. Will you please state whether or not the Filipinos would approve of a scheme by which at the end of a time, say, eight years, that the Americans should occupy those islands and teach the people, and give them the right at the end of that time to establish a stable form of government, and give them the Constitution of the United States, and give them their independence?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. If the United States Congress should so dispose, what remedy would we have but to accept? But they would be responsible for the future if the other great nations would devour them, and in such case they would then still have the right to damn Congress. If the other nations should subdivide the country, in the case of their absolute independence, that would be the only remedy left them, if Congress had enacted such a law. Naturally, if we should be happy on account of a law passed by Congress, we would bless Congress.

Mr. PATTERSON. Will you please state exactly what your party wants?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Annexation.

Mr. PATTERSON. Would they be satisfied with anything less than annexation permanently?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. They would be satisfied with something else temporarily, because the census is a necessary thing. Now we do not know what we are talking about.

Mr. PATTERSON. Do you mean by that, the opinion of the people?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir. I mean the census, the counting of the people, to know whether the right of suffrage should be given or not. It is necessary to know how many are illiterate, etc.

Mr. PATTERSON. Do you believe that if the Philippine Islands are held as a colony of the United States without any promise of annexation at all that it will produce distrust among the people of the Philippine Islands against the Government of the United States?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. In that case I could not answer either for the present or the future. In that case I would remain in the United States with my children and not go back to the Philippines.

Mr. PATTERSON. As I understand, then, in case the United States would not agree at some future time to annex the Philippine Islands you would remain in the United States and not go back to the Philippine Islands?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. PATTERSON. Will you please state why you would remain here and not go back, in case they would not agree to annexation?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Because I would then not be a citizen, nothing but a colonist.

Mr. PATTERSON. Do all the educated people in the archipelago agree with you in your views on that subject?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. The greater portion of them agree with me; some do not.

Mr. PATTERSON. If the United States Government did not promise independence at any stage, even now or in the future, would it cause revolutions in the islands?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir.

Mr. PATTERSON. Would the Filipinos be peaceable and well disposed toward the United States if the Philippine Islands were held as colonies and not annexed to this country?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir; but they could be reconciled.

Mr. PATTERSON. The only way to reconcile the people of the islands and bring about a good feeling among them toward this country is for this country to express its determination at some future time to annex them as a part of the United States?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. In my opinion the only solution of the difficulty would be to annex the islands. I do not speak of content or discontent, but only in such case would the United States have true friends in the Filipinos.

Mr. PATTERSON. Then, as I understand, the only way for the Filipinos to become friendly to the United States is for a promise to be made by our Government for future annexation of the islands?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I do not say that. I say that the only solution for the welfare of my people is annexation.

Mr. PATTERSON. Would the Filipinos be friendly to this country if held as colonists and not promised annexation?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir; beginning with myself.

Mr. PATTERSON. Then, as I understand, neither you, nor any of your party, nor any of the Filipino people would be satisfied unless promised annexation?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. PATTERSON. I understood you correctly, then?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. PATTERSON. Do the Filipinos desire to retain the lands in the islands, or do they desire to have them turned over to corporations?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. The Filipinos love their property very much and only sell it when they have to do so.

Mr. PATTERSON. Will you please answer the question directly if the Filipinos would desire the lands in the archipelago to be held in large quantities by corporations?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. There are 6,000,000 acres of land in the Philippines under cultivation and inhabited. The owners of these 6,000,000 acres want to own their property.

Mr. PATTERSON. Are you acquainted with the condition of affairs in Mindanao in regard to slavery?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. PATTERSON. Will the Moros ever agree to give up their slaves?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. They will never consent to give up their slaves.

Mr. PATTERSON. In other words, the Moros will not give up their slaves without war?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. That is right. They would be wiped away sooner than give up their slaves.

Mr. PATTERSON. When the time comes, and when the American Government attempts to free the slaves, would they not have a bloody and longer war than was had with the Filipinos?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, because it would only be necessary for the United States to wage a hard war against them.

Mr. PATTERSON. Are not the Moros a very brave people, and would not that be a bloody war?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. They are not brave, and it would not be a bloody war. The Moro is a coward.

Mr. PATTERSON. He is not a warlike man, then?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. They are not a warlike people. The Spanish army would go through that country and fight two or three days, and then the commander would state that he had no more ammunition, and they would return to Manila. Therefore the Moros have been led to believe that the Spaniards were afraid of them.

Mr. PATTERSON. That is not the question I asked. What I want to know is whether the Moros would consent to release their slaves unless a war of extermination was waged?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. They would not.

Mr. PATTERSON. They would fight for their slaves until all of them were killed?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir. They would fight to the death for their slaves.

Mr. PATTERSON. Then you do not mean to say that the Moros would not fight?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I do not say that. They will fight, but they will fight like cowards. They would go to the mountains like the Indians in the United States fight.

Mr. PATTERSON. Still, they would fight?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; but they would never form any organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Concerning the testimony of Mr. Buencamino as to the date of his appointment and the authority by whom he was appointed, I find in the report of the Philippine Commission:

The central government of the islands established in September, 1900, under the instructions of the President, with a military governor as the chief executive and the Commission as the legislative body, with certain executive functions in addition, continued until the 4th of July, 1901. At that time Maj. Gen. Adna R. Chaffee relieved Major-General MacArthur as commanding general of this division and military governor. By the order of June 21 previous, in all organized provinces the civil executive authority theretofore reposed in the military governor and in the Commission was transferred on July 4 to a civil governor. He was inaugurated with appropriate ceremonies on July 4.

Therefore, Mr. Buencamino is correct in saying that General MacArthur was in charge until the 4th of July.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Was he appointed by the civil governor?

The CHAIRMAN. I suppose he held over.

Mr. JONES. That report says distinctly "civil provinces."

The CHAIRMAN. But he was appointed by the central government.

Thereupon, at 5.30 o'clock p. m., the committee adjourned to meet on Tuesday, June 3, 1902, at 11 o'clock a. m.

COMMITTEE ON INSULAR AFFAIRS,
Tuesday, June 3, 1902.

The Committee on Insular Affairs this day met, Hon. Henry A. Cooper in the chair.

STATEMENT OF MR. FELIPE BUENCAMINO—Continued.

Mr. JONES. When did you first make known to any American the information you have given this committee in regard to the alleged secret preparations on the part of Aguinaldo and other Philippine leaders, including yourself, to attack the American forces?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I have not stated to any American, nor have I before the committee, as yet, made any statement as to any secret preparations of Aguinaldo.

Mr. JONES. By whom were the secret preparations made, of which you spoke?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. By General Luna in Manila.

Mr. JONES. When did you first make known to any American the information you have given this committee in regard to alleged preparations on the part of General Luna and other Filipino leaders to attack the American forces?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Only here.

Mr. JONES. Then I understand this is the first you ever made that statement to any American?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. In Manila it was no secret with General Otis, therefore this is the first time. This is where it is being discussed as a secret, not there.

Mr. JONES. During the insurrection of 1896-97 with whom did you side; with the insurgents or with the Spaniards?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. On the side of the Spaniards. As I already stated at the last meeting, then the insurgents represented no formal ideas nor did they represent any influential power. In 1898 Aguinaldo proclaimed independence, as promised by Admiral Dewey. You observe the Spaniards did no longer defend themselves and were surrendering at that time.

Mr. JONES. I am not asking about the last insurrection. Is it not a fact that the patriot Rizal, of whom you spoke in such exorbitant terms at the last meeting, sympathized with the insurrection of 1896-97?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. He sympathized with his people, but did not approve of the insurrection. When Doctor Valenzuela went to Dapitan, where he saw him personally and spoke to him and invited him to be the leader of the insurrection, Rizal refused to do this, and said one hundred years would be necessary before the Filipinos could have a successful insurrection. He further stated that it was not because the people lacked in sentiment of justice and liberty, but they lacked opportunity of establishing the means of using this liberty in a just manner, and that more culture and study was necessary.

Mr. JONES (to the interpreter). I wish you would say to the witness I do not object to his making his answer as long as necessary to explain what I ask of him, but I do not want him to go off on something irrelevant.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. It is my intention of throwing as much light as possible on the Philippine matters.

Mr. JONES. But I desire you to throw light on the particular subjects that I question you about.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Then I will curtail my statement.

Mr. JONES. It is a fact, however, that Rizal did side with the insurgents during 1896-97?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. As one brother sympathizes with another brother in misfortune and even in error.

The CHAIRMAN. When was Rizal shot?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. December 31, 1896, and the insurrection began August, 1896.

Mr. JONES. Did you not during the period of 1896-97 organize Filipino militia to fight against your own country?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; but not against my own country, but against a few of my people who had no well-defined ideas, in defense of Spain.

Mr. JONES. Were you not a colonel in one of the regiments thus organized?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. For one month—from May 1, 1898, until May 22—when the Spanish general sent me to Cavite to speak to General Aguinaldo, and I was taken prisoner by Aguinaldo.

Mr. JONES. It is true, then, that for a period of at least one month you were a colonel of a Filipino regiment, fighting on the Spanish side against your own people?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No; at that time all my people were against the Americans and there was no war between the Filipinos and Spaniards. We were making preparations against the Americans.

Mr. JONES. In 1896?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I was not colonel in 1896. I understood the question to refer to 1898.

Mr. JONES. No; my question referred to 1896—I will get to 1898 presently.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I was not colonel at that time.

Mr. JONES. I will repeat my other question: Did you not assist in organizing Filipino militia to fight with the Spaniards against your countrymen during the period of 1896-97.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; but not to fight my people but to fight the insurgents who amounted to about 1,600 men.

Mr. JONES. Were not the insurgents, who amounted to 1,600 men, Filipinos, fighting the Spanish?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; they were Filipinos, but at the same time they were stealing all they could and burning the towns. There were no intelligent men among them. They had made no proclamation of any sort; they had no flag, nor did they represent any institution, so that the Filipinos were not on their side, but on the side of the Spaniards.

Mr. JONES. What you say, then, with reference to these people applies, does it not, to the insurrection of 1896-97 with which Rizal sympathized?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir. He also sympathized with them. Sentiment is one question and order another.

Mr. JONES. You sympathized with them and showed your sympathy by organizing a force to fight them?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. For the reason that what they were attempting to

do was not possible. That was the case with Rizal, who disapproved of their actions but sympathized with them.

Mr. JONES. Rizal was murdered, was he not, as a consequence of his sympathy with the insurgents during that insurrection?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. He was assassinated because of the enmity of the friars.

Mr. JONES. This is a new version. Did you not during the year 1896 hold the rank of colonel in the forces that were opposing the insurrectionists?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir.

Mr. JONES. Did you hold any military rank?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Nothing but a volunteer; as all Filipinos were under compulsion by the Spaniards.

Mr. JONES. Did you command any force as a volunteer?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir; but in 1898 I did command a force.

Mr. JONES. What month was that in 1898 when you commanded this regiment of Filipinos against your own brethren?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I never had any command against my own people. In May, 1898, I had a command against the Americans.

Mr. JONES. Did you not upon the return of Aguinaldo to Cavite go to him for the purpose of inducing him to take up arms for Spain as against the United States, and did not Aguinaldo indignantly repudiate the proposition?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; that was my mission.

Mr. JONES. Did not Aguinaldo convince you on that occasion that the Filipinos, with the aid of the American forces, were going to win, and did you not then become an ardent advocate of Filipino liberty and independence?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. When I met Aguinaldo on the 2d of May, 1898, I was not permitted to speak of my mission by Aguinaldo. I was informed only that he, Aguinaldo, came to establish the independence of the country with the assistance of Admiral Dewey. I then asked him to present to me the documentary evidence, promising if he would do so I would join them, first writing to the Spanish general, but Aguinaldo did not produce this documentary evidence, and then I told him I did not agree to the proposition because, as I told Aguinaldo, of the Spanish motto or saying, "Between a nation unknown and a nation known the nation known is preferable." I did not know the Americans; I did not know what they might be. I was acquainted with the Spaniards; consequently it was my duty to be on the Spanish side.

Mr. JONES. And you did then go to Aguinaldo at Cavite for the purpose of inducing him to abandon the Americans and to side with the Spaniards against the American forces; that was your mission?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. There were no American forces as yet at that time, nor had Aguinaldo any troops yet, but he was going to organize troops, and before he organized them I was trying to get him to join the Spaniards, and I repeat the saying to which I have just called attention.

Mr. JONES. At that time had not Admiral Dewey placed in the hands of Aguinaldo arms with which to fight the Spaniards?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir. The occurrences I have already related at the last meeting. The Spanish commander at Cavite capitulated to Admiral Dewey. Immediately thereafter, after the destruction of

the Spanish squadron, and on May 1, 1898, the Filipinos entered the city. Admiral Dewey informed the Filipinos he had not come to fight the Filipinos, but they could enter and go out of the city of Cavite as they pleased, and the Filipinos who entered the city found there some rifles abandoned by the Spaniards and took those arms away with them, but there was no formal delivery of arms by Admiral Dewey, because on that date Aguinaldo was not there yet. Aguinaldo arrived there on the 19th of May and those arms were gathered on the 1st of May.

Mr. JONES. What time in May was it that you went to Aguinaldo on this mission?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I went there on the 22d of May, but was received on the 24th, in the evening.

Mr. JONES. That was after the Filipinos had gotten possession of these arms which had belonged to the Spaniards and were to be used against the Spaniards?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. There was as yet no war against Spain. They took the arms and hid them for future use. The war against Spain began on the 28th of May of that year.

Mr. JONES. And it was on the 24th of May you saw Aguinaldo?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. After the war commenced on the 28th of May, four days after you had gone there for the purpose of inducing Aguinaldo to side with the Spaniards, which side did you take?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I was on the Spanish side. On the side of my people, because Aguinaldo did not then represent my people, unless you understand that there are no Filipino people except Aguinaldo.

Mr. JONES. How long after that was it before you cast your fortunes in with Aguinaldo?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. On the 12th day of June of the same year.

Mr. JONES. Then you went to see Aguinaldo on the 22d day of May for the purpose of inducing him to side with the Spaniards against the Americans and in June of that same year you abandoned the the Spaniards and went over to Aguinaldo?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I did not abandon the Spaniards; the Spaniards abandoned me, because the Spanish general in Cavite, who had 1,600 men under him and munitions of war and provisions for six months, surrendered to Aguinaldo without firing a shot, saying that they did not defend the cause of Spain in the Philippines, but the cause of the friars. I could not be more Spanish than the Spaniards; as for example, if the Americans should abandon the Filipinos now I could not defend the Americans there.

Mr. JONES. Then you did not abandon the Spaniards until they had surrendered to the Filipinos, and, as you say, they had abandoned you?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir. I was kept seventeen days a prisoner of Aguinaldo, from the 22d of May to the 12th of June, and only when I saw I was abandoned by the Spaniards I passed over to Aguinaldo.

Mr. JONES. Then you became an ardent advocate of liberty and independence for the Filipino people, did you not?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; in view of Admiral Dewey's promise.

Mr. JONES. Have you not since you became an officeholder under the Taft Commission also abandoned your religion and become a Protestant?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir; my religion is that of Christ. All that I have done is to abandon the friars and passed over to the Protestants, because the latter are better interpreters of Christ, and the moral peace which we now enjoy in the Philippines is due to them. At this period, while the friars proclaimed death to the Americans—to all American missionaries—the American missionaries proclaimed peace and fraternity in favor of the friars, so that while before my religious conversion no friar could enter Tondo, now they walk around there.

Mr. JONES. What denomination of the Protestant faith did you first connect yourself with after leaving the Catholic Church?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I do not want you to believe that I have ceased to be a Christian.

Mr. JONES. But you have not answered my question as to what denomination of the Protestant faith you joined.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. It is Presbyterian.

Mr. JONES. I saw it stated in the Washington Post this morning that you first became a Methodist and afterwards a Presbyterian; is that true?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir; it is completely false.

Mr. JONES. You became a Presbyterian and you are a Presbyterian now?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir. I did not become a Methodist because I noticed that the Methodists have the same hierarchies as the Catholics.

Mr. JONES. Did you not unite in a dispatch in November, 1900, to the Secretary of War, or in a request to Governor Taft to send a dispatch to the Secretary of War, in which you urged that the war should be quickly terminated, and offered to assist by raising Filipino troops to fight against your brother Filipinos?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir. In the month of the previous October my brother had been assassinated, so I had already completely broken with the insurgents. I did not wish any more Filipinos to be assassinated, and I desired the insurrection to be terminated in an honorable way and not with the stain of assassination of their own brothers, as has been the case up to the present time, unfortunately.

Mr. JONES. Did you use this language in your dispatch to the Secretary of War, "We affirm that the war should be quickly terminated——"

The CHAIRMAN. I should suppose you could get that dispatch from the Secretary of War and cross-examine the witness upon the original instrument rather than upon a translation——

Mr. JONES. I have it here [reading], "and American sovereignty established in all the archipelago. We will aid in this event to the extreme of organizing a counter revolution, if desired——"

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Not "if desired."

Mr. JONES. "If desirable——"

Mr. BUENCAMINO. "If it should be necessary" was the language.

Mr. JONES. I have here what purports to be that dispatch, published in the Outlook on March 2, 1901. That language appears in that.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. It is a question of language or misunderstanding, that is all. My idea was if Aguinaldo persisted in pursuing the war without use then we would fight against him in order that more assassinations should be avoided, because it is very possible that there are not many Filipino commanders who would pardon Aguinaldo for having assassinated his brother.

Mr. JONES. Did you not, when a member of Aguinaldo's cabinet write an address to the American Congress?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. There was published in the Congressional Record this morning what purports to be an address, or a copy of an address, sent by you to the American Congress.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I do not desire to go back of any acts of mine during the revolution. I entered with a pure and good idea in that insurrection and I left it with the same ideas.

Mr. JONES. Then you acknowledge the authorship of this address?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I have not read it yet.

Mr. JONES. I have stated it was an address signed by him and addressed to the Congress of the United States, and it was published in the Congressional Record this morning, and I asked him, if not this particular address, if he had issued any such address. Now, I am going to ask him whether this is the address or not. There can be no question about that.

Mr. TAWNEY. I insist before he is interrogated on that point that he be given an opportunity of seeing the address and an opportunity of examining and reading it.

Mr. JONES. He can have all the opportunity he desires if you wish to suspend for a few moments and let him look at it. I want to ask him if he has read it; I think possibly his attention has been called to it.

The CHAIRMAN. What page of the Record?

Mr. JONES. It commences on page 6606.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I have not been able to read any papers or anything for three days on account of my eyesight.

Mr. JONES. I just want to ask him in regard to two or three passages and he can say whether he wrote those or not, and I will not take up time with the whole address.

Mr. TAWNEY. I think if he is going to be interrogated on it, to be entirely fair, the witness ought to read the entire address.

Mr. JONES. This is the official translation and I take it for granted it is correct, but I simply want to ask him in regard to two or three passages.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you permit me to ask one question? I notice at the top of the document it says "official translation." I do not find anything in the remarks of Senator Patterson or in the copy itself to indicate how these words "official translation" came to be used there and what that means?

Mr. JONES. I do not know any more than I see here; I find it in the Record. I simply desire to read one or two passages and ask him whether those were in the address which he admits he addressed to the American Congress.

Mr. TAWNEY. A good many things are incorporated in the Record which—

Mr. JONES. Did you use this language: "Who is it that has caused these two friends and brethren to wage war upon one another? Alas, esteemed citizens of the great American Republic, you know well who is the cause of such reckless perturbation. It is the President of your Republic, Mr. William McKinley, who, using as a pretext alleged rights obtained through the purchase of the more than doubtful sovereignty of Spain, gives evidence of his intention to ignore the bonds

of friendship and guardianship which should unite the two nations by imposing on us by force of arms the sovereignty of the United States."

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I do not remember exactly whether those were my words, but it is a fact that at that time I thought that way, because I understood that independence was the only form of protecting our life, our honor, and property, and I had no confidence in any foreign sovereignty, and it is my duty to call the attention of the committee to the fact that the Filipino occurrences were unexpected. We knew nothing of political and international law at the time, because it was not taught in the universities of Manila. They have only begun to study those subjects during the last three years of war and conflict. This, I understand, and the greater portion of my people understand, that true human happiness consists in protection of life, honor, and property, and that the words "independence of America" mean nothing more but the means of using this protection.

The question now is, Can the Filipinos following under Aguinaldo better protect their life and honor, or can they protect it better under the protection of the United States? One must be very blind and very dull if he did not see what would be the most advisable for the Philippine people. Now, in order that the Philippines should have a wise congress as that of the United States, which takes the trouble of ascertaining the bad condition of the prostitutes, even, of Manila, looking into the American methods, taking care of their people as if they were their own children, it would take much money and time. I have not seen this done by our Philippine government nor by the Spanish Government, and in order that we may have people of this culture it is necessary that more than fifty years shall elapse and much money is necessary to pay for all this.

Mr. JONES. Do you think that is at all responsive to my question?

Mr. TAWNEY. It is to me.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Now we have all those advantages without spending a cent, and we are free from the threats of other foreign nations. Why should we not be Americanists? It would not be for love we do this, if you do not wish that it be so, but it is for the natural convenience of every man; we must be Americans.

Mr. JONES. Now I will ask another question if he is through. He testified at our last meeting in regard to the breaking out of hostilities between the United States and the Filipinos. Did you or not use this language in regard to the commencement of those hostilities in the address which you sent to the American Congress, and from which I shall now read:

Therefore it is plain that it can not be claimed that by reason of your victories over the Spaniards rights of conquest accrue to you as being due from the Filipinos, for the all-sufficient reason that you were not engaged in war with us between the 1st of May, 1898, and the 4th of February, 1890, during the night of which latter date your forces, in accordance with the orders of President William McKinley, commenced hostilities against our forces for the purpose of establishing American sovereignty in our archipelago by force of arms.

Did you not write that?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir; I do not remember exactly. I am at a disadvantage. You are reading from something in English and it has been some time since, and before any questions are put in regard to this alleged proclamation of mine I wish to be permitted to send to Manila and get a Spanish copy, but it is a very hard place to put me in to make me responsible for something written in English.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know, Mr. Jones, there is not a court in Virginia which would permit the cross-examination of a witness on a translation of a written instrument, the original of which you have not tried to produce nor to account for, and when the translation is not proven to be a correct one.

Mr. JONES. If you will pardon me for saying so, I know there is not a court in Minnesota that would have permitted the chairman of this committee to have asked the witness the leading questions you did on Saturday about this very thing, and while we did not object—

The CHAIRMAN. I did not on Saturday know anything about this memorial.

Mr. JONES. But you did ask about the commencement of hostilities and you did ask leading questions and I am simply questioning him on that subject. You did testify here on Saturday that very soon after the 4th of February, I think in March of that year, 1899, at the request of Aguinaldo you took the deposition of the major in command of the Filipino forces?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. You did state to this committee in substance what that deposition stated. If, then, what you are alleged to have written here you did write, then you know, do you not, that what the major stated in that deposition was not true?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I was informed by the major it was the truth, but my belief is that the hostilities were begun by the American forces. That is my belief up to the present time. What I was referring to at the last meeting was the statement of the commander.

Mr. JONES. I understand.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. It was not my own opinion on the subject.

Mr. JONES. Your statement in that address to Congress, however, was your statement on the matter, was it not?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I can not—

Mr. JONES. I am not saying in this, but in the address you made to the American Congress. Is the statement contained in that address the truth as to the commencement of hostilities? I will undertake to establish it is correct.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. That is my opinion. I do not say it was the truth. As already stated in regard to the matter of the first shot, there is nobody who can make a statement and claim that it is the truth, from the fact because that shot was followed by so many others, and they were very far from the place; so there can be nothing but an opinion on the subject, and prejudices and passions of either side.

Mr. JONES. But you did express this opinion several months after you had taken that deposition, the substance of which you related to this committee?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes; and I still express it, but not with those words. I state my opinion that the first shot was fired by American soldiers. That is my private opinion, and nothing but that, but it has no more foundation than all other similar private opinions taken from very obscure data, because after that first shot many others followed and many were killed.

Mr. JONES. You have stated that over and over again. You entertain a private opinion that the Americans fired the first shot?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. My opinion is that the war was begun by the American army; that is my opinion.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, I raise a point of order that comments on the evidence ought to be made after it is in. Any gentleman examining this witness ought to have the attention of the committee. That is the way I feel about it. If an improper question is raised, then it should be objected to.

The CHAIRMAN. I was myself paying very close attention to the witness and did not observe any interruptions.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. I was the man who was indulging in some side remarks.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. I was not referring to that alone.

The CHAIRMAN. I agree with the gentleman from Illinois entirely.

Mr. CRUMPACKER. Then I withdraw the objectionable conduct.

Mr. JONES. If in your opinion, then, the hostilities were commenced by the American forces, why did you go to the pains of setting forth to this committee in substance the contents of the deposition of a man who was in actual command of the Filipino forces on the 4th of February, 1899?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Because I considered it my duty here not to express opinions but to state facts. If you prefer opinions to facts I will be glad to give them to you, but the truth will never be reached in that way.

Mr. JONES. Then I will not press it any further, but will let it stand. This paper I have here, which purports to be a copy of your address, also contains this statement:

Consequently the treaty of Paris, 10th of December, 1898, does not convey any sovereign rights whatever in favor of the United States over any of the Philippine Islands or its inhabitants; nor are the United States in any way entitled by it to impose upon the Philippine people an alien sovereignty by force of arms.

Do you still entertain that opinion, if you used that language?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. When I came here I devoted myself to a study of the necessities of the Philippine people because I came to see my sovereign, for which reason I have not taken the trouble of looking up the data which were the cause of the breaking out of hostilities, because I repeat what interests my people is not the discussion of past acts but to cure the wounds of the war, as my country accepts now the American sovereignty.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Mississippi. I object to that and insist upon an answer to the question.

Mr. TAWNEY. The witness has answered the question.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Mississippi. He has not answered the question.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. I insist on this mode of procedure. In his own time or any other gentleman's time, if he wants to submit a full statement or argument in support of his changing from one position to another, let him make it; but in any court or in any other place when a witness is asked a question he is expected to answer it and not to make an argument to support a position he has taken on that question.

Mr. TAWNEY. I move that the witness be allowed to proceed in the manner in which he was proceeding without interruptions by the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. I think that is entirely unfair.

The CHAIRMAN. The stenographer will read the question.

The question was read.

The CHAIRMAN. I am prepared to rule on this. I think if we are to

hold the witness to the strict rules of examination the motion of Mr. Williams, of Mississippi, is to be sustained. I therefore instruct the witness that he will make his replies specific in answer to questions, as nearly so as possible, and then, after he has made a direct reply, if he desires to make an explanation he will be accorded that privilege.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Mississippi. That is right.

Mr. JONES. Now, I wish the witness to state if he still entertains that opinion?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I would like to have a translation submitted to me of the entire alleged statement before I answer any questions. That document was written in August, 1899.

Mr. JONES. Do you entertain the opinion that you are alleged to have expressed in the language I have read?

Mr. TAWNEY. I object to the question. I submit if we are going to bring this down to a technical examination, then submit the original of which this purports to be a translation.

Mr. JONES. I am afraid it is going the way of the deposition which I wanted him to produce at the start, and he could not.

The CHAIRMAN. If he is to be held to the strict rules of evidence I would rule that before any witness can be examined on a translation he must be shown the translation and every opportunity afforded him to acquaint himself with it, if there is no chance of getting the original.

Mr. JONES. If the examination as to this paper is postponed until the next meeting of the committee and you have an opportunity to examine the Congressional Record containing this article, do you think you would be prepared to answer questions which may be asked you?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. If I can examine the translation—not by piecemeal, but if I have the whole thing.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Mississippi. You can translate it for him?

Mr. JOANNINI. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. You will be prepared to answer questions at the next meeting?

Mr. PATTERSON. Did you make the translation of this article?

Mr. JOANNINI. I do not know. If you will permit me to look at it I will answer.

Thereupon the committee adjourned to meet at 11 a. m., Wednesday, June 4, 1902.

COMMITTEE ON INSULAR AFFAIRS,
Wednesday, June 4, 1902.

The Committee met at 11 o'clock a. m., Hon. Henry A. Cooper in the chair.

STATEMENT OF MR. FELIPE BUENCAMINO—Continued.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Jones, you may proceed with the examination.

Mr. JONES. Have you ever examined the memorial to Congress prepared by yourself, which was printed in the Congressional Record?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. Is it correct and authentic?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. With regard to its authenticity, I can not say, because what was authentic was the Spanish. With regard to the ideas it contains, they are exactly those which I entertained at that

time. With your permission, I will make a further statement in regard to the memorial.

Mr. JONES. Before you make that further statement I would like to ask you one or two questions, and then you will be permitted to make any statement or explanation which you desire, but I would much prefer that you answer my questions as briefly as possible before you make any statement or explanation.

What authority had you for your statement contained in this memorial to Congress that the American forces commenced hostilities on the 4th of February, 1899, in accordance with the orders of President William McKinley?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. The authority of the council of Aguinaldo as I wrote that memorial, not as Felipe Buencamino, but as the secretary of Aguinaldo.

Mr. JONES. The memorial is signed "Felipe Buencamino," not as secretary of Aguinaldo, or in any other official capacity. Why did you not sign it as secretary for Aguinaldo if you wrote it at his instance?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. If your memory does not fail you you will remember that I said the document was not authentic. In the authentic document in Spanish which I wrote my title appears as secretary of Aguinaldo, and that appears in the preamble in the English itself—that I wrote this at the command of my government, at that time Filipino.

Mr. JONES. I understand you to say that when this memorial was written you entertained exactly the sentiments and opinions expressed in it?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. It is my opinion that when I acted officially as secretary I did not express but the logic of the documents which were presented to me by Mr. Aguinaldo. Those documents were denied by Admiral Dewey, as well as by Consul Pratt at Singapore and by Consul Wildman at Hongkong, afterwards, and for those reasons nobody paid any attention to this document at that time, when some attention should have been paid to it. No American paid any attention to it at that time, and now there is a great deal made of it.

Mr. JONES. You attach to that memorial a number of additional documents which you declare in the memorial would sustain the statements which you had made. Are those documents authentic?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. They were given to me as authentic documents, but they were denied to such an extent that Consul Pratt brought a suit against Bray, Aguinaldo's agent in Singapore, and the British tribunals in Singapore sentenced this Englishman for libel and to pay a fine of \$6,000, which Agoncillo asked me, as secretary of state, to authorize him to pay.

Mr. JONES. I do not find among the documents submitted by you but two that are signed by Consul Pratt [handing witness pamphlet]. Are those the documents which you say Consul Pratt repudiated?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; he did.

Mr. JONES. Was the suit of which you spoke brought on account of the misrepresentations contained in these two documents or in other documents and statements?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. In those documents and in other statements.

Mr. JONES. These and others?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. These and others. I would now like to make an explanation.

Mr. JONES. I would like to ask you a few questions first.

I observe in examining this memorial that you base the argument which you make for Philippine independence largely on the statements of Generals Anderson, Merritt, and Otis, and that you filed with this memorial letters from those American officers to sustain that argument, and also letters and dispatches from Commodore Dewey. Are those documents authentic?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. They were given to me as authentic.

Mr. JONES. Have you ever heard their authenticity questioned by any of those officers?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. Which document and which officer?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. All. Now, I would like to explain why they were repudiated.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the witness has the right to make that explanation.

Mr. JONES. He wants to make a long statement in regard to these things.

The CHAIRMAN. The explanation will be more effective if it is made at the time the witness thinks he ought to make it in justice to himself.

Mr. JONES. I shall not object if, when he is through, he will say he is through and let me go on with the examination.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I have said that all these documents have been repudiated by the Americans who appear as the signers thereof according to a letter from Agoncillo himself. Then Sixto Lopez accused Agoncillo of being a traitor, at which time he was Agoncillo's secretary. He left Agoncillo, and in his turn Agoncillo accused Lopez of being a traitor. I told Aguinaldo, "It is impossible for us to be independent. We have only four Filipinos in Europe and in other foreign countries to represent us—Agoncillo, Regidor, Sixto Lopez, and Apacible—" and all four were at odds. For this reason this document has absolutely no value to me. Agoncillo wrote me, as secretary of state, that the officers had repudiated this document. The authentic copy of this document, which I prepared, was sent to the Hongkong junta to make use of it before the congress, authorizing them to expend \$50,000 in its promulgation. Naturally I requested an accounting of this money afterwards, and the answer by Agoncillo was that it was not made use of at all, because of the Americans who appeared therein repudiating the documents. If you wish to force me to it, I will be obliged to divulge the secrets of Agoncillo, Sixto Lopez, and Aguinaldo.

Mr. JONES. I would be very glad to have them myself.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. But I have not them at my disposition. Perhaps the War Department or the civil government in Manila, which captured all the documents of the Philippine government, can furnish that information; then the repudiation of the entire document will be seen there.

Mr. JONES. Although you admit that you prepared this memorial to Congress, and that it correctly represents the views which you entertained at that time, you now say that you repudiate, for the reasons you have given, the whole memorial and its statements?

Mr. TAWNEY. Before he answers that question, has he said that the memorial correctly represents his views? Did he not say that it was written for Aguinaldo?

Mr. JONES. He said that it did represent his individual views and sentiments, and that he wrote it at the instance of Aguinaldo, and that he did entertain those views at that time.

You have not, as I understand, translated the document?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I have read it.

Mr. JONES. You have read it?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. And it correctly expresses the ideas which you entertained at that time and which you intended by it to convey to the American Congress?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; by reason of Admiral Dewey's alleged promises.

Mr. JONES. Do I understand you to say that the original in Spanish had been sent to Hongkong, to the junta there?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. Is the original in Hongkong now? Do you know where it is?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I do not know. I suppose it must be there.

Mr. JONES. Why did you say, then, on yesterday, that you would like to be allowed, before testifying as to this, to send to Manila and get the original?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I have a copy in Manila. It was printed in Spanish. But the original, signed by Aguinaldo, was sent to Hongkong.

The CHAIRMAN. The original was signed by Aguinaldo?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; and for this reason: It would not have been accepted as authentic with my signature only. After my signature Aguinaldo put the word "authentic" and affixed his signature. These are some of Aguinaldo's secrets.

Mr. JONES. The copy of that memorial which I have in my hand, and which I have shown to the witness, contains a note in these words:

Official editions of this correspondence have been forwarded through the post to the presidents of both Houses.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. That appears there, but on the original, of course, it did not appear. The members of the junta at Hongkong were the ones to do that.

Mr. JONES. This seems to have been printed in Hongkong.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. That may be, but I have not submitted any English documents to the Hongkong junta, but a document in Spanish for transmission by the junta here.

Mr. JONES. Was Sixto Lopez a member of the junta?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. He was Agoncillo's secretary, that is to say, a clerk of the junta. He did not become a full member of the junta.

Mr. JONES. Would Sixto Lopez from his own knowledge be able to testify as to the translation of this document and whether or not it was transmitted to the Congress of the United States?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. At that period Agoncillo and Sixto Lopez were already at odds and two bands were formed, one composed of Regidor and Sixto Lopez and the other of Agoncillo and Apacible, and I do not know which of the two factions of the junta did that.

Mr. JONES. I do not find any statement in any of the documents which accompany this memorial which would justify you in making the statement that hostilities were commenced by the American forces on the 4th of February, 1899, in accordance with the orders of President McKinley, and I want you to state why you entertained that idea and made that statement to the American Congress.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. This is my conviction, and I maintain it up to the present time, for the following reasons: In the first place, because on that day, the 4th of February, as I was with Aguinaldo constantly, I knew that he had not issued any order for the beginning of hostilities. As I said before in my first statement, we received a telegram from Agoncillo in October, 1898, stating that we would be deceived by President McKinley and the American Congress, and consequently that we should make preparations for war. As I have already said, Aguinaldo and Luna began making preparations. Secret preparations were made in Manila to catch the American Army between two fires.

The CHAIRMAN. When did those preparations begin?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. In October.

The CHAIRMAN. What year?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. 1898. General Otis discovered the secret preparations in Manila and he ordered all houses searched and found more than 500 rifles; but we had more than 1,600 rifles hidden. Our engineer battalions and four cavalry troops were still to be organized before the orders to attack were to be given, and it is very possible that General Otis, before permitting himself to be caught between two fires, and knowing the decisive intention of General Aguinaldo to attack the American forces, took precautions in order not to see himself caught again, because the American forces were very small at the time and it was Luna's intention to collect our 40,000 rifles and enter Manila, and for that reason I sustained the opinion; but I have not the evidence that the order to attack came from the American forces. Not as a political question, perhaps, but as a question of vital necessity.

Mr. JONES. You now speak of Aguinaldo and Luna commencing to make preparations with a view to organizing a force to oppose the Americans. On yesterday, when I asked you about these alleged preparations on the part of Aguinaldo, you said that you had never said that Aguinaldo made any preparations, and I asked you then whom you had said had made preparations, and you said that General Luna made them. Why is it now that you undertake to connect Aguinaldo with what you said yesterday he had nothing to do?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. You asked me yesterday if I said to anyone before I appeared before the committee that Aguinaldo had made secret preparations in Manila to attack the American forces. That is what I deny. I never, before I appeared here, made such a statement. I have never told any of Aguinaldo's secrets, and if General Otis discovered them, he discovered them for himself. That is what I said yesterday. So there is no contradiction at all in what I have said.

Mr. JONES. The notes of the stenographer will show, and I hope they will be properly transcribed.

In this memorial these words are used:

It is sometimes said that we are to blame for the outbreak of hostilities during the night of the 4th of February last, but this is not an established fact.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir. For the attack of that night they were not to blame at all.

Mr. JONES. For the attack of that night the Filipinos were not to blame at all?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. That is my opinion.

Mr. JONES. It is also stated in this memorial:

It is unquestionable that we were not aggressors, for we know full well that were we to act on the offensive we could look for neither military or political gain of any kind. On the contrary, we regarded such action as bordering on suicidal folly, and well-nigh sure to bring down on us the hatred and contempt of the American people. We had, in fact, nothing to gain and very much to lose by aggression.

Did you write that statement, expressing your own views and those of your associates, or did you write it as expressing the views of Aguinaldo?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I wrote that statement as expressing the views of Aguinaldo's private secretary; not as a private individual.

Mr. JONES. Do I understand you to say by that answer that you did not entertain the views expressed in that statement, but that you were simply acting as the private secretary to Aguinaldo?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir; I did not say that. I answered your question. You asked me from the document, and the document was prepared by the private secretary. If you will now ask me if that is my opinion, I will answer the question.

Mr. JONES. Did you entertain that opinion at that time?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; and up to the present time.

Mr. JONES. Up to the present time?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; with regard to that specific point.

Mr. JONES. Then I understand you to say that that statement expressed your honest opinion at that time and the opinion which you still entertain in regard to that matter?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The stenographer will please read that question and answer.

The stenographer read as follows:

Mr. JONES. Then I understand you to say that that statement expressed your honest opinion at that time, and the opinion which you still entertain in regard to that matter?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. Then when you used the word "we" you were expressing the opinion that was entertained by your associates as well as yourself, were you not?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; with regard to that specific point of the document.

Mr. JONES. It is also stated in this memorial address that—

We have accepted an enlightened religion—the Roman Catholic faith.

Whose opinion were you expressing then, your own or Aguinaldo's?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Of course we considered religion in that case from a political point. We were not looking at religion there as a question of conscience, because in the constitution of the Philippine republic the principle of freedom of worship is embodied. We only spoke there of religion in order to express to the Christians of America that we had a religion similar to their own—a religion of the civilized people.

Mr. JONES. Am I to understand from that answer that you do not now regard the Roman Catholic faith as an enlightened religion?

The CHAIRMAN. The witness does not have to answer that question.

Mr. JONES. I do not understand that the witness objects.

The CHAIRMAN. That question tends to arouse a religious prejudice against this gentleman, and he need not answer.

Mr. JONES. The witness admitted on yesterday that he had changed his religious faith, and he gave his reasons for it and commented very seriously upon the friars in the Philippine Islands. I did not ask him about the friars yesterday; I asked him about the Roman Catholic faith; but he made the statement in giving his reasons for a change of faith. Now, I find in this memorial that he does not speak of the friars at all, but he speaks of the Roman Catholic Church and its enlightened faith, and in the answer which he has given to my question he said he used this expression in a political sense. That would seem to indicate that he did not regard the Catholic religion as an enlightened faith.

Mr. TAWNEY. That is not interesting to us.

Mr. JONES. It is a matter of a good deal of interest to the American people when a witness comes all the way from the Philippine Islands to testify before this committee, to know something about his antecedents and to know something about the motives which prompted him to make such a statement. In other words, whether he is competent to speak for the Philippine people whom he claims to represent before the committee. However, I shall not press the question.

In this statement you use the pronoun "I," having heretofore used the word "we."

I am of opinion that the most natural sequence of these incontestable moves of Mr. McKinley is to be found in the outbreak of hostilities, namely, an order from your President to General Otis to commence the acts of aggression and impose on us that odious sovereignty by force of arms, notwithstanding the fact that we have demonstrated and made it evident in every possible way from the first that we would accept no solution other than our independence.

In that passage did you express your own individual views or the views of Aguinaldo, as his secretary?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I have said that that document was not authentic, and if you find there the word "we" and then "I" I am sure that in the Spanish there would be nothing of that kind, although with the Spanish language there is a form of speech so that in public documents it is the custom to use and understand as synonymous the words "we" and "I."

Mr. JONES. Did that passage express your views at that time?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Not only at that time, but now. Now I would like to make a statement.

Mr. JONES. Certainly.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. We had great confidence in the alleged promises of Admiral Dewey, which promises were later forgotten, and not only forgotten but contradicted by President McKinley, so that if these facts were true, every honest man would have to hate President McKinley, but that was not the case, because Admiral Dewey never made promises of that kind. Now, to continue, it would be necessary for me to enter into Aguinaldo's secrets and I request that I be excused from entering into them, but if compelled to do so I will, but it must be made a part of the record that the statement is not of my own free

will, but under compulsion. Consequently, if my opinion is different now, it is because I have been convinced that such promises never existed, and that Aguinaldo had many secrets which forced our intelligent people to separate themselves from him in an honorable way.

Mr. JONES. You said in this memorial:

The only possible way to accomplish your object is to destroy the lives of 8,000,000 Filipinos, an act which would leave on the hitherto——

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I do not understand that question very fully.

Mr. JONES. You desire me to repeat the question.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. If you please.

Mr. JONES. This memorial addressed to the American Congress made use of these words:

The only possible way to accomplish your object is to destroy the lives of 8,000,000 Filipinos, an act which would leave on the hitherto spotless pages of your glorious history and traditional liberality an everlasting and indelible stain.

Now, what I want to know is, Do you still adhere to that statement, that the only possible way by which the American people can extend their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands is to destroy the lives of 8,000,000 Filipinos?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. That was the idea of the Philippine government at that time, but the true facts are that, beginning with Aguinaldo, all those who said they were going to die are still living.

Mr. JONES. And one of those still living is yourself, and you are enjoying a fat office under the American Government, are you not? And your associate, Aguinaldo, is now in prison?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Buencamino is alive, and he has admitted many times that he holds an office.

Mr. JONES. We know that Aguinaldo is alive and that he is now a prisoner.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; but I did not express my opinion in that case. There I expressed the opinion of Aguinaldo and one of the bravest men they had at that time. Consequently if I live now it is not because I surrendered. I was captured, and if I live now it is due to the humanity of the American Army, which should have shot me twenty times over. For this reason I esteem the American sovereignty now because I have understood it to be a very humane one.

Mr. JONES. You speak of having been captured. Has it not been questioned in the Philippine Islands whether or not you were actually captured?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Nobody has ever questioned that fact, because had I surrendered I would not have been in prison five months. The other secretaries of Aguinaldo all surrendered. The only one who did not surrender was myself. None of the secretaries of Aguinaldo were in prison for one day, only I; so I do not understand why that question should be asked me, as I was captured with the mother of Aguinaldo.

Thereupon, at 12:10 o'clock p. m., the committee took a recess until 2 o'clock p. m.

AFTER RECESS.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Jones, you may proceed.

Mr. JOANNINI. Mr. Buencamino wishes to state that no answer which he made this morning was to be interpreted as meaning that he advocated independence now, but that he did at the time of writing

the memorial, when he believed that promises had been made by Admiral Dewey.

Mr. JONES. When you visited Cavite in 1898, for the purpose of inducing Aguinaldo to take sides with the Spaniards as against the Americans, did you hold any official position under the Spanish Government?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I was a colonel.

Mr. JONES. You were then a colonel in the service of Spain?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I was a colonel in the service of my country, which was Spain.

Mr. JONES. How long had you held that commission under the Spanish Government?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I had held it twenty-two days—from the 1st of May to the 22d of May—when I was taken prisoner by Aguinaldo. That was in 1898.

Mr. JONES. How long after you were taken prisoner by Aguinaldo was it before you renounced your allegiance to Spain and became an adherent of Aguinaldo's?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Seventeen days—from May 22 to June 12.

Mr. JONES. How long was it from the time of your capture by the American forces before you joined your fortunes with the Americans and withdrew from all connection with the insurgents?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Two years after my imprisonment by Aguinaldo. That is, I was captured by Aguinaldo May, 1898, and on May 28, 1900, I went over to the side of the Americans.

Mr. JONES. How long after your release from imprisonment by General Otis was it before you took office under General MacArthur as interpreter?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. On April 15, 1900, I was set at liberty, and on October 15 of that year General MacArthur requested me to serve as his interpreter from Tagalo to Spanish.

Mr. JONES. Did you continue in his service as such interpreter up to the time you were appointed a member of the civil service commission?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. And from that time up to the present time you have been holding office under the United States?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir. But I wish to state that I was also requested to fill the position of member of the civil-service board, because at the beginning irreconcilable Filipinos did not wish to submit to civil service by means of examination, accustomed as they had been to appointments by reason of favoritism under the Spanish Government and under the government of Aguinaldo. Then I was addressed by Governor Taft, and I went about all the Philippine circle and spoke of the good character of the civil-service law, and from the time that I entered the civil-service board until I left Manila 4,600 Filipinos had been examined through my efforts. Had I not been on this board, where I receive but a salary of \$291 per month, much less than the sum received by Aguinaldo from the American Government, I would have been attending to my law practice, which is worth \$1,000 a month, and consequently the position I now hold can not be looked upon as a purchase of my honor.

Mr. JONES. Is it not true that since the 1st day of May when the Spanish fleet was destroyed, you have occupied the position of colonel

in the service of the Spanish Government, private secretary to Aguinaldo, secretary of state of the insurgent government, director of justice of the army of the insurrection government, interpreter for General MacArthur in the service of the American Government, and also civil-service commissioner at a salary of \$3,500 in gold per annum, notwithstanding the fact that you say that you could have made \$1,000 per month by your law practice in Manila?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. It is true, then, that during these four years you have held office under the Spanish Government as a colonel of a regiment—

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Without salary.

Mr. JONES (continuing): Colonel of a regiment, without salary, in the Spanish army, a prominent official under the insurgent government—

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Without salary.

Mr. JONES. Yes, sir; and now a prominent official in the American Government with salary?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir. For this reason I wish to state that I consider the American Government a just Government. To give to everyone what belongs to him is just.

Mr. JONES. Do you base your idea of justice upon the fact that the American Government pays you a salary and that neither of the other governments paid you anything?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. That is one of the most insignificant details of American justice. If my respect for you and this committee did not prevent I would be glad to give details of American justice.

Mr. JONES. What other members of your family, if any, are holding office under the Government of the United States?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. None at all.

Mr. JONES. Have any held office?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. None at all.

Mr. JONES. I observe that the letter of the Secretary of War, dated March 20, 1902, addressed to Mr. José C. Abreu, is addressed to him at the Insular Division, War Department, Washington, D. C. Does he hold any position under the Insular Division?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. When I said that no relative of mine held office, I was referring to the Philippine government.

Mr. JONES. I asked you whether any members of your family were holding office under the United States Government?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I thought you were referring to questions in the Philippines.

Mr. JONES. Now that you know I am referring to the United States Government, I wish you would state whether, in the Philippines or in the United States, there are any members of your family holding positions.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Mr. Abreu is a relative of my wife, and not a direct connection of mine, and I can also say that it is a very distant relationship which I have with Mr. Abreu, just a detail of relationship.

Mr. JONES. The Secretary of War says in a letter to the chairman of this committee:

I inclose an original letter received by me last March from Mr. Buencamino's nephew, Mr. José C. Abreu, which shows the way in which Mr. Buencamino happened to come to this country.

Then the Secretary of War was mistaken in calling him your nephew?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. He is the nephew of my wife, and according to Philippine usage the nephew of the wife is the nephew of the husband.

Mr. JONES. According to Philippine usage, have you any relative in the service of the United States Government?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Nobody except Mr. Abreu. Mr. Abreu is about to leave for the Philippines.

Mr. JONES. Mr. Williams, of Illinois, wants to ask the witness some questions.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. That is, unless the chairman wishes to proceed.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to ask the witness a few questions in view of the questions Mr. Jones has asked him.

Mr. Jones in his question to you said that you were enjoying a "fat" office and that Aguinaldo was in prison. Will you state how Aguinaldo is treated—whether he is in prison or not?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Aguinaldo has a palace for a prison. It is a palace to this extent, that before Aguinaldo occupied it it was occupied by Mr. Worcester, one of the Commissioners. If I am not mistaken, the military government pays \$500 per month rent for the house. I can also say that it is as large as the White House here in Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. Who lives with Mr. Aguinaldo?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. His wife and his entire family. He has an American physician free of charge and servants paid by the Government. And the Government gives him 16 pesos, Mexican, per day for food for himself and his family.

The CHAIRMAN. So that while you have been enjoying a "fat" office, Mr. Aguinaldo has been doing pretty well himself?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir. He also has a carriage for his own use any time he wishes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he allowed visitors?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Whenever he wants them.

The CHAIRMAN. You stated that you desired to make an explanation of a reply which you gave to Mr. Jones when he asked you concerning the memorial, and your desire therein expressed for the independence of the Philippines. In the memorial you also said that President McKinley was responsible for the inauguration of hostilities against the Filipinos. You said you had changed your views and desired an opportunity to make an explanation. You may now make the explanation.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

When I was asked in regard to this matter by Mr. Jones, as to my idea of independence in the Philippines, I answered that I did favor independence, having referred to what appeared in the documents at that time. When I was asked by Mr. Jones as to the liability of President McKinley with regard to hostilities, I answered "Yes," referring to the promise given by Admiral Dewey to Aguinaldo, believing that that promise was so, and that if President McKinley violated the promise it was evident that he was responsible for the outbreak of hostilities, because the Filipinos, and I with them, are disposed always to fight those who deceive us.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you since learned anything which has changed your opinion concerning these promises?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; to such an extent that by errors altogether caused by these promises, of which we were told by Mr. Aguinaldo, we continued the war; but we have destroyed these errors by means of better data and we have arrived at the point of believing that the possession of the Philippines by the American Government was a work of humanity; that is to say, by not returning us again to the Spaniards. When I left prison I read the documents referring to the treaty of Paris, and I there saw that the American commissioners, answering the Spanish commissioners as to the return of the Philippines, wrote the following words:

With honor, for humanity's sake, we can not return the Philippines to you, because you would exercise greater cruelty on account of the Philippine insurrection against you.

I saw those words, which proved to me that the intention of America in retaining the Philippines was a humane one and a charitable one. That is one of the points which opened my eyes to become an American. The other points which have opened my eyes, I have already spoken of at the last meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. What were they?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. On the second day, when questioned by Mr. Patterson, I stated that I had read the municipal code of General Lawton, the marriage law, the law of criminal procedure, and the habeas corpus, etc., and that they contributed to my change of opinion. Then I observed what American justice was, and it agreed exactly with my revolutionary ideas and for that reason I wrote to Aguinaldo, saying that the war was useless and that the name Filipino could be renounced because it signified slavery. It is derived from Philip II, a Spaniard, the worst king who has ever lived, and who ordered the execution of more than 100,000 by means of the tribunals of the inquisition.

Mr. JONES. You spoke of the treatment which Aguinaldo has been receiving, although in prison, at the hands of the American authorities. Is it true or not that the luxuries which you refer to as being received by him are paid for out of the revenues of the Philippine government and not out of any funds belonging to the United States Government?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I can not say whether it is paid for from Philippine revenues or from United States funds. I never had occasion to make that distinction. I am an American, and all the money in the Philippines, the air, the light, and the sun I consider American.

Mr. JONES. Is it not a fact that your salary, the salaries of the Philippine Commissioners, the teachers, the retinue of employees and servants, and the whole government—is it not a fact that all of those salaries are paid out of Philippine revenues, and not a dollar is contributed by the United States Government?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I do not know, but what I can say is, that by reason of the war more than \$160,000,000 of United States money has come into the Philippines. So, from an economical standpoint, it would be good for the war to continue.

Mr. JONES. Would it not also be good for the war to continue from a personal standpoint?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, because my person is just like that of any other man who is civilized; no civilized man would want war.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Illinois. Please state how and where it was first suggested to you to make this trip to the United States?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. From the time that I was in prison I considered it my duty to come to the United States, in the first place to bring my sons here, because at that time my country was sick from the sickness of patriotism. What I call "sickness of patriotism" can be compared to a fever. When it is very high the person suffering becomes delirious and irresponsible, and I desired to send my children, the eldest of whom is 16 and the next 13 years of age, to the United States, because the insurgents in the country were calling upon the young boys and seducing them with patriotic words, which produced this patriotic fever. When my children were here, every year I was thinking of coming to the United States, but the work of pacification in the Philippines, in order to avoid the shedding of more blood, and more destruction, and to save Aguinaldo himself, and all his men, I desired to remain in the Philippines until peace was an established fact, and when I left the Philippines to visit my children I was assured of the fact that the masses would never revolt again for the reason stated. They are now happy compared to the times under the Spanish Government, and have been relieved from many taxes and many abuses and the large number of authorities that domineered over them. Since that time have I thought of coming to the United States, and the president of Berkley University can prove this statement.

The CHAIRMAN. What university?

Mr. JOANNINI. The Berkeley University, where his children are now.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that in California? Is it in the State University?

Mr. JOANNINI. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. When did it first occur to you to come here on this mission, and please confine your answer to that question?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. September of last year.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Last September?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; when the petition of the Federal party was prepared.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. To come here in the interest of the petitioners?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I proposed to come here at that time.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. You proposed to come?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. With what Americans, if any, did you confer before leaving the islands?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I conferred with everybody; I went and said good-bye to everybody.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. I mean the American officers, on this subject?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; I conferred with all—with private individuals and with officers.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. What American officers?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. With all the officials there; but there was no official conference, or anything of that kind; just to say good-bye.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Did you say that you were going to get Congress to grant the prayer of their petition, or as nearly as you could?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; because I thought that a definite law should be enacted.

Mr. HAMILTON. What petition are you referring to?

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. The memorial which has been presented in the Senate.

Mr. HAMILTON. The one of last December?

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Yes, sir. Mr. Buencamino understands that.

Did you make known to the American authorities in the Philippines that that was the purpose of your visit?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Did they encourage you to come or try to discourage you?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. They were not encouraging me, but I was entitled to a leave of absence, and I made use of it in this way; that was the special reason I asked for a leave of absence.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Did you confer with any of them as to how you should proceed when you got to the United States?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Did you know before you left the Philippine Islands that there was a bill pending in Congress for the establishment of civil government in the islands?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. What I knew of was that the recommendations of the Civil Commission had been made, with which I do not agree.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. You, then, do not agree with the recommendations of the Commission?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. In many points, no; and that is one of the reasons why I do not believe I am in the confidence of Governor Taft.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. You said that you understood that there would be some legislation at this Congress?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No; I was under the impression that Congress was to legislate in a permanent manner for the future of my country.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. And you came over here to present that petition to Congress before legislation was enacted?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; before the final bill should be passed, requesting that the final bill should embody the petition of the Federal party.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. How did you know but what the bill would be acted upon before you could reach here?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. For the simple reason that we receive the Associated Press news in the Philippines.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Then you did know that bills were pending in Congress?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Nothing but just the plain facts. I knew that a bill was pending without knowing what the bill contained.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. You could not tell from the Associated Press dispatches but what the matter would be finally disposed of by Congress before you arrived here?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I did not know that, but I received newspapers in Honolulu, on my way here, which gave me further reports.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. What was your intention when you left the islands; to appear before the committees of Congress?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir. My intention was to visit the President of the United States, because as we did not know whether we were Americans or foreigners, I desired to ask the President whether I could appear before the committee or before anybody else or to whom I should submit the petition of the Federal party.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Did you go to the President?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. And to the Secretary of War?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; for the reason that I consider the Secretary of War my chief?

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. What course did they suggest for you to take?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. That if I had anything to say before Congress I could appear before the committees if I wished. I knew nothing of the procedure observed in the United States.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. When you went to see the Secretary of War you went for the purpose of getting permission to appear before Congress?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Did you discuss with the Secretary of War at any length the subject which you have testified to before the committee?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Did you discuss it at all with him?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No; the only statement which I made to the Secretary of War was an assurance that there would be no further revolution in the Philippines and that, in my opinion, the American troops should not yet be withdrawn in the provinces of Mindanao, Bohol, Leyte, and Samar.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Who first notified you to appear before the committee, and when were you notified?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I was informed by the Secretary that if I had any petition to present to Congress I should present it to the committee.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. I asked by whom and when you were advised to appear before this committee?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I asked how to present the petition and I was told to present it to the committee.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Will you please state how and when you received notice to appear at the first meeting of this committee at which you testified?

Mr. TAWNEY. Perhaps the chairman of the committee could answer that question.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Yes; but I am asking this gentleman.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. The day that I spoke to the Secretary of War, having told him that I had a petition from the Federal party to the American Congress for the permanent control of the country, he told me that I could not appear directly before Congress, but that I could appear before the committees.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Did he tell you that day when you should appear?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. When and how did you get notice to come to the first meeting of this committee?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. From the chairman.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. From the chairman of this committee?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir. I went to call on the chairman of the committee and asked him when I could be heard, and the chairman said on the morning that I came here.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. On the morning that you came here you went to see the chairman?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I do not remember whether it was the same morning or the previous morning.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. What did the chairman say to you?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. That I could come at 11 o'clock the next morning.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Then it was the day before?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes; I think it was.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Now, in the revolution of 1896, you said that while you were recruiting Filipinos for the Spanish army that the insurrectionists numbered about 1,500?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. About 1,600.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. What was the number of the Spanish forces at that time?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Ten thousand Filipinos and 500 Spaniards, because the Spanish army in the Philippines has always been composed of Filipinos.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. I just asked for the number at that time.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I think the army was composed of 10,000 Filipinos and 500 Spaniards.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. What was the necessity of trying to increase the Spanish forces if the insurrectos only numbered 1,600 at that time?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. The reason for getting more Spanish forces was they were scattered through the entire archipelago, whereas these 1,600 insurrectos were all in a bunch.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. I call your attention to this language used in your memorial to Congress, in August, 1899, on page 6607:

We are a community of 8,000,000 people, politically organized on well-defined territory, with our own government, which is competent to and sufficient for the protection of the rights of our citizens and capable of assuming full responsibility for our acts in the conduct of relations with other States. * * * We possess, therefore, all the conditions requisite for existence as an independent state.

Mr. TAWNEY. One moment; will you state what you are reading from?

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. I am reading from the memorial which he presented.

Mr. TAWNEY. Is it the original or the alleged translation?

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. It is the translation which he has compared himself; certainly not the original. It is the one which he himself compared with his interpreter. He says the ideas are correct, but the exact language might not be. In substance, is that what you said on those questions?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Exactly.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Do you believe the conditions which you described in that portion which I have read then existed; that is, with reference to population, their capability for government, and the form of government they then had?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; because at that time they knew nothing but the natural law. The subdivision of Saneva had not yet taken place at that time; there had been no war of England against the Boers as yet; the trouble with China had not begun. Then afterwards I learned international law practically upon these matters, and with a map of the world before me I could submit to your consideration my studies on the subject of international law practically, and then I understood the natural law was not sufficient for independence.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Mississippi. What do you mean by "natural law?"

Mr. BUENCAMINO. The right to protect one's self, the right to protect one's life and honor, one's family, one's people.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Mississippi. Do you mean by "natural law" the natural rights of everybody to their independence?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; and the collective right of independence.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. At the time you wrote this did you think you were stating the truth?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; certainly; and from that point of view I would still think so.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. That did not depend upon whether the correspondence between Dewey and Aguinaldo and other American officers had been correctly reported or not, did it?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir; it did not depend upon that. That was the social condition of the Philippines.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Did you then believe that it was for the best interests of your people to have an independent government?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. From the point of view of natural law, yes.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. I will read this statement from your memorial:

It is sometimes said that we are to blame for the outbreak of hostilities during the night of the 4th of February last, but this is not an established fact. In the first place, because we, the Filipinos, were expecting at that very time (the beginning of February) official recognition of our independence from the Government at Washington.

Were the Filipinos at that time expecting their independence to be recognized as you have stated?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; because we knew at that time the treaty of Paris was being passed upon in the United States.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Why were they preparing, as you claim, to make an attack upon the Americans in the islands?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. In case their independence should not be recognized and they were deceived, then the attack would have been made.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Then you did not intend to make any attack on the American forces unless the American Government refused to recognize your independence?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes; because a refusal would imply the breaking of a promise as we considered it at that time.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Then, while they were making preparations for war it was not the intention of the Filipinos to commence war until the American Government had in some way refused to recognize their independence?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Exactly.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. And they were preparing for war in the event—

Mr. BUENCAMINO. They were making preparations rather to keep the peace than to make war, under the principle that preparations for war assure the peace.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Then you wish your statement to be understood, when you state that they were preparing for war, that they were really preparing to maintain the peace?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; if Admiral Dewey's alleged promises were kept.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Did you say you are the founder of the Federal party?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir. I wish to say I am recognized as the founder.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Did you consult with any American officers in the islands as to the advisability of forming such a party?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; I consulted with General MacArthur.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Did any of the American Commissioners favor the organization of such a party?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. After we had become established we went and visited the civil Commissioners.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Were any American officers advised with before the party was founded?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Only with General MacArthur. He was the military governor at the time.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Had none of the American Commissioners been consulted with before the formation of the Federal party?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir; not until after the formation on the 23d of December.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Did General MacArthur encourage the formation of a Federal party?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; with regard to its first part.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Have the American Commissioners and other American officers on the islands encouraged the growth of the Federal party?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. With regard to its first part, which is to secure peace.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. I said the growth of the party—that is, the whole party.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes; on account of the question of peace.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Do the members of the Federal party believe that the Filipinos will become American citizens and be admitted as a State into the Union?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Not only do they believe it, but they wish it.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Do you believe that?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; because it is a natural sequence of events.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. In building up the Federal party in the Philippines you have tried to persuade the Filipinos that they would be made American citizens and admitted into the Union as a State?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; I wish to extend my answer a little bit.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Very well.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; because if they have been ordered to recognize American sovereignty, as according to Article I of the Constitution all the powers of sovereignty proceed from the Constitution, and as the Constitution says in an article that I can not exactly remember those who are under the jurisdiction of that sovereignty are American citizens, for that reason the Filipinos have believed that we are citizens at the present time, although at first we would be a Territory and then become a State.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Is it not on account of that belief and their belief that they are to become citizens of the United States and be admitted as a State into the Union that has caused the growth of the party to be so rapid in the islands?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. That is the exact reason for the growth of the party. That is the hope of all the Filipinos and of the Federal party at the present time.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Is it not the desire of all members of the Federal party that Congress will without any further delay define the future status of the Filipino people?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No; the desire of the Filipino people is that the question be carefully studied here; that we be heard in order to report as to the provision for our future, but that in the meantime, as everything is in a state of ruin and destruction there at present on account of the war, a provisional government is necessary under which all the destroyed governmental organisms be built up as municipalities, provinces, public buildings, good roads, bridges, and especially means of communication, in order to encourage commerce, industry, and agriculture, and especially legislation providing for a currency system. The greatest evil afflicting the Philippines at the present time is that we have no money.

Sometimes the Mexican peso is worth 50 cents in gold, at other times 40 cents, then sometimes it drops to 30 cents, and as we are an exporting people we sell goods, and when we are paid the result is we are always taken at a disadvantage, and while, as I have observed in America, which is a producing and exporting country, at the same time the Philippines is a producing country, its hemp, sugar, coffee, tobacco is not consumed in the country, but it is consumed abroad, for which our own money is necessary in order that defense may be made against the usury of the consumers, who are generally foreigners.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. In the memorial of the Federal party to Congress, in which interest you have appeared, do the members of the Federal party not ask Congress to express the status of the Filipinos?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. They do?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Then, was it their desire to have that status expressed when they presented this memorial?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. If the sovereign considered it the proper time, yes.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. They did not put any conditions in their memorial, did they?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. They had put no conditions in there, as they understood it to be a bilateral question, one giving and the other receiving.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. What did you mean when you stated a while ago that one purpose in coming was to learn what their status was, whether they were Filipinos or Americans?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. That the question of nationality should be well defined, as it is the origin of many difficulties at the present time.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Do the Filipinos at this time desire to know whether they are to be American citizens or Filipino citizens?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. They do?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Are not all the members of the Federal party bitterly opposed to colonial government for the islands?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Have you read the bill in the Senate and in the House for a Philippine government?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. As a lawyer, do you consider those bills as colonial legislation when enacted?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. If they were definite and permanent, yes.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. They are definite. You mean permanent?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. But I consider them as temporary measures.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Without any assurances in that legislation of anything further to be expected, would you consider it colonial legislation?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Would you be in favor of it?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Temporarily, yes.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Without any promises?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. It would not be necessary to make any promises, as when the census is taken then we can establish in the Philippines a condition of Territorial government or a State immediately if Congress would thus desire.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. If it was the intention of the American Congress to continue to hold the Philippine Islands and govern them as a colony would you favor American sovereignty?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir; not at all. I have already stated that in such case I would not be responsible either for the present or for the future.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. You state in your memorial to Congress of August, 1899, that about 9,000 Spaniards had been captured as prisoners by the Filipinos, was that correct?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. More or less.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Do you believe the public lands in the Philippine Islands—agricultural lands, I mean—should be held as homesteads for the benefit of the Filipino people or granted in large tracts to corporations?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Part of them; yes.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. You are in favor of American corporations holding large tracts of Filipino land?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. As there are 50,000,000 acres of uncultivated land, 25,000,000 could be given to American corporations in order that capital may come into the country, and the remaining 25,000,000 acres could be reserved for Filipino inhabitants as well as Americans.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Do you state there are 50,000,000 acres of good agricultural land?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; and better lands than those of Honolulu or in the United States.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. And you are willing for half of this to be given to American corporations for the development of the islands?

Mr. HAMILTON. Is there a proposition to give half to American corporations?

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. No; he stated that in his answer. I am examining him in reference to the Senate bill, which is likely to become a law.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you suppose it will be all American corporations? There is one Filipino corporation already applying.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. They will take in a few Filipinos. Well, I will say "corporations," without using the word "American."

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes; because most of those lands are uncultivated and uninhabited, and there are 6,000,000 acres which are cultivated

and inhabited, and which are enough to provide all the necessities, luxuries, and commodities of the seven or eight millions of Filipino inhabitants. Besides these lands, there are 50,000,000 acres which are uninhabited and uncultivated, and half of these could be turned over to corporations in order that capital may enter the country, and the other 25,000,000 could be reserved for private individuals.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Are you willing for the American Government to dispose of public lands and the franchises before any representative government is established in the islands?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes; because I do not wish the same thing to happen as did under the Spaniards, who acted like a dog in the manger.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. What do you mean by that?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. That they did not want to give anything, and did not want to do anything with it themselves.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. That is the Spanish?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. You say you are willing for the American Government to dispose of the lands and franchises?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes; because the idea over there is that it all belongs at the present time to the American Government, as these lands were Crown lands under the Spanish rule.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. You consider all of those lands as belonging to the American Government?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. To the sovereignty.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Rightfully belonging to the American Government?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. They belong to the American sovereignty. No question has been raised in the Philippines on that subject.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Mississippi. Do you believe that could take place before the United States Congress had fixed the political status of the Filipinos, or settled whether or not they shall become American citizens?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; because what is necessary there is economic life. There is no machinery, no animals, no money, consequently it is necessary to offer money and machinery, and to give those public lands to secure these other advantages. The idea of Aguinaldo was to obtain all of this money and machinery and cattle without giving anything in return, but that appears to me impracticable. In my opinion something should be given in order to obtain something.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Suppose that the American Government disposes of the public lands and franchises and then continues to govern the islands as colonies and refuses to admit them as a Territory or State into the Union, would you feel that the right course had been pursued?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I can not answer that question. I request that I be excused because it appears to me to be impossible.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. I put that question for the purpose of showing that it was for the benefit of the Filipinos not to dispose of the public lands or these franchises until it had been determined whether they were to be an independent country or a part of the United States as colonies or as Territories and States.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I am not of your opinion.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. I know they believe they will be admitted as States, but you have not answered my question yet.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I can not agree to that. I would not agree to that because that appears impossible to me; if it did occur then I would express an opinion.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. You want to wait until it happens?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Naturally, because I have such great faith in American justice that it appears to me a loss of time to discuss future injustices.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Have you received any assurances or encouragement or any reason to hope from American officers in the islands that the Filipinos would ever be treated as citizens of the United States, or be admitted as a Territory or State into the Union?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Many have led me to believe——

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Give me the names of any of them?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I can not think of anyone just now. I know more than 200 Democrats, especially military men, and I can think of several on the trip over who informed me that the Democratic party would disappear in the United States before it would allow any injustice to be committed in the Philippines.

Mr. JOANNINI (interpreter). He means that the Democratic party would sooner see itself disappear from the United States than permit any injustice to be done.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. That does not answer the question.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Mississippi. Has any American officer, civil or military, stationed in the Philippine Islands ever held out to you or to members of the Federal party a hope that the American people would ever consent that the Filipinos should become American citizens, or that the Philippines should be admitted either as a Territory or as a State?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. That is the general statement which is being made by Americans over there, that the Philippines would be admitted as a Territory, and the Americans there demand that also.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Mississippi. Now, I would like for you to state whether General MacArthur has ever held out any hope of that sort?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Officially, no, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Mississippi. Privately or officially?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. In his heart General MacArthur is a man who loves the Filipinos more than any other officer there.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Mississippi. That is not the question.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. But I never spoke with General MacArthur on the subject. I am speaking of other American officers—captains, lieutenants, etc.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Mississippi. Has Mr. Wright, of the Commission, ever held out any hope of that sort to you?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Mississippi. Officially or privately?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. None of the officials, the American officials there holding high positions, have made any statements on the subject. They know how to comply with their duties.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Mississippi. Then these assurances came generally from the sous officers?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. When I speak of officials in Spanish we consider always the petty officials as officials, clerks, etc.; when we speak of high employees we say "high employees" or "high authorities" in Spanish. I refer only to lieutenants, captains, clerks, and petty officers.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. But you do state that a great many American officers—

Mr. BUENCAMINO. In the sense you refer to petty.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Have held out the hope and encouraged you that the Filipinos would become American citizens and be admitted into the Union?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Upon what do you base your belief that they are going to be admitted?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Because the Constitution speaks only of States and Territories and never speaks of colonies, and, furthermore, making use of the right of petition mentioned in the Constitution, we would request not to be colonies any longer because we fear very much a condition of affairs similar to that under Spain, where we would depend upon the opinion of men and not on the people of the United States, and we wish to belong to the people of the United States.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. In your judgment what would be the result if the United States should undertake to govern the Philippine Islands outside of the limits of the Constitution as colonies?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I can not state the result, but I would not like it for my part.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Would they submit to it?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I, for myself, speaking frankly, would not submit to it.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. What is the view of the Federal party on that?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. It is the same feeling.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Did you go around with the Commission to any of the proceedings?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir; I am not in the confidence of the Commission, because I did not agree with many of their ideas.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Have you and others held public meetings and made public speeches to increase the strength of the Federal party in the islands?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Every Sunday I myself made speeches and held meetings.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Have you held out to the people the idea that they are going to be made American citizens?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I did not lead them to hope anything, but the people are all expecting it.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. What did you tell them will be their future fate after laying down their arms?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. That they would be American citizens.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Mississippi. One question I want to ask. What is your opinion as to the advisability of the admission or the exclusion of the Chinese in the Philippine Islands?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I have a good deal to say on that question.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Mississippi. Say a little of it in answer to the question.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I could not do that, because it is a very difficult question to arrange in the Philippines.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Mississippi. All I want is your opinion as to whether they should be excluded or admitted—whether it is good for the Philippine people that they should be excluded or admitted.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I have stated that there are 50,000,000 of acres of land uncultivated and uninhabited, so that the necessity of immigration is evident. Can we send white Americans there? If we can not do so, we must send Chinese.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Mississippi. So you think the Chinese ought to be admitted?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; because they would be better than nothing if the white Americans could not be sent.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Mississippi. If the Filipinos are to become American citizens by the fact of their laying down their arms and submitting to American sovereignty, would not the Chinese admitted into the Philippines become American citizens too?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. If they are expressly made American citizens they would be.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Mississippi. If the Filipinos are made American citizens not by express act of Congress, as I understand you to contend, but by the fact of laying down their arms and submitting to American sovereignty, then would not the Chinese, who had in the meantime been admitted to the archipelago, become by the mere fact of a residency on American soil American citizens?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I can not understand your question as to becoming American citizens by laying down their arms and accepting American sovereignty. It is my opinion they can not be American citizens except by a special act of Congress.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Mississippi. I understood you to say a moment ago that the Filipino people expected, and you among others had taught them to expect, that their fate upon laying down their arms and making peace would be American citizenship?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. If Congress passes an act declaring them American citizens, but not by the mere act of laying down their arms.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Mississippi. Now, a moment ago in answer to the question upon what you based your hope that the Filipinos would be permitted to become American citizens and that the Philippine Archipelago would be treated as a Territory or State, you answered that it was because of the Constitution of the United States which made provision only for Territories and States and not for colonies. I understood you to say you based your hope upon that constitutional ground.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Mississippi. Now, I understand you to say you base your hope upon the possibility or probability of the passage of an act of Congress; now which one is it?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I logically understand there will be a declaration that the Philippines are a Territory.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Mississippi. In other words, you think the American Congress will obey the American Constitution as you understand it?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Mississippi. Now, that is the basis of your hope?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Mississippi. Suppose the Supreme Court of the United States and the Congress of the United States were to take a different view of the construction of the Constitution from yourself; were to decide, in substance, that the United States had the right to hold subject to its sovereignty populations not citizens and territories not territories, but colonies. Suppose that were to happen, then would

you or any of the balance of the Federal party be in favor of submitting to American authority?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, for myself; no. In that case I would remain in the United States.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Mississippi. That is, as far as you are personally concerned?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. JONES. Mr. Chairman, that is all we desire to ask the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Why would you not return to the Philippines; why would you not continue to live in the Philippines?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I would be in a better condition here than over there. I would have here a Congress as this, so wise and just and so careful of its citizens, and there we would be nothing but subject to a few authorities who would be sent there by the Government, and we do not want to pass again through a sad experience similar to the Spanish system.

The CHAIRMAN. So you are fearful if the United States were to have a colonial system that the methods would be those of the Spanish Government?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I can not foresee what would happen, but I believe that a people are not governed by men but by law, and a colonial system is a government of men, and a constitutional system is a government of law. If men were always angels, or were all Washingtons, then I would not make any difference between man and the law, but in each generation the race becomes better or worse. Spain arrived in the Philippines a very generous nation and a real Christian nation, and was very careful of the regeneration of the Philippine people. There are the old colleges founded by the first Spaniards who landed there, such as the college of Santo Tomas and the other colleges which were cited in a previous hearing. All those colleges were founded by the first Spaniards. Then Spain was in a similar position to the Americans at the present time. The sun did not set on its territory. It was a very large nation; but it degenerated little by little and the poor colonies paid for it, thirty years of loss of human life in Cuba and five years the same thing in the Philippines which they exchanged for the \$20,000,000 received, and I would not like either for the Philippines or for America that this sad lesson in history should be repeated.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not think that the Filipinos, at the present time, are capable of electing a legislature, an upper body and a lower body, and governing themselves, do you?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. This bill reported by the House committee provides for a legislature, the lower house of which is to be elected by the people. Do you not think that is as far in that direction as we ought to go by legislation at this time?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. If you will permit me to answer the previous question—that is, the question asked whether the Philippine people are capable of electing a high and low chamber and governing themselves—I wish to state that if the Philippine people are to govern themselves by American methods, which are the methods of civilization, as I have practically seen, they are not capable of electing a legislature of the higher and lower houses. Consequently we must meet and vote to elect the lower chamber, and the high chamber should be by appointment of the Congress of the United States, which

shall select persons of high intelligence to guide the lower chamber of the Philippines according to methods of American civilization. In only that way can I believe that there will be a good government in the Philippines, which, little by little, will make Americans of the Filipinos; but if at the present time the Filipinos elect both chambers, it is possible that they will all be Filipinos, and then, as we know nothing but what was taught us by the Spanish, we can do nothing but work to our own disgrace, as I have practically seen was the case with our own Filipino government of Malolos and Tarlac. For this reason I come to testify before this committee, to insist upon American control, for I desire that the appointment of American authorities to be sent there be made by Congress. The modes of procedure, as I have read and as I see in practice now, are so wise, so just, that it is very difficult for a mistake to be made, and those appointments of Americans for the Philippines would always be given to competent persons.

The CHAIRMAN. You say that your experience in the Malolos government taught you that the Filipinos are incapable of self-government?

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Mississippi. He said incapable of self-government upon the American idea.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir; upon the American plan. Please state why you state they are incompetent of self-government on the American plan.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I will cite three cases of the Philippine government. We had to appoint a minister of the treasury, because we had to have treasuries, and Emilio Aguinaldo appointed General Trias, who knew nothing about managing public funds, and he resigned. Thereupon Aguinaldo looked for a Filipino financier, but nobody knew anything relating to finance, because we never had an opportunity to deal in such matters. What did Emilio Aguinaldo do? Then he appointed commissioners to request donations from the rich in the provinces, and the result was the following: Those commissioners have assuredly collected more than \$50,000,000, but for the Philippine treasury I can say that it received nothing but \$7,000,000. What was the cause of this? The lack of economical capacity and the absence of an economist or financier.

The second instance is this: We required a minister of public works, who had to take charge of all the works relating to public buildings, bridges, roads, etc., and all the railroads. Emilio Aguinaldo appointed another general, also a relative of his, from Cavite, General Mascardo. This gentleman was very honorable, as was General Trias, and he resigned because he knew nothing of public works and bridges. Then Emilio Aguinaldo vested the powers of directing the public works in all the municipal presidents and all the provincial governors. What did these gentlemen do? They appropriated to themselves all the public materials and built their own houses and huts, and never used any of this material for the public interests.

Another case can be cited. Engineers were to be established for the regiments, for the purpose of building trenches, bridges, etc., and as there were no engineers, jewelers were appointed, and the result was that our trenches were so weak that they could have been kicked down by the American soldiers; cannons were not necessary. These are three cases which occurred in the Philippine Islands.

The following is the case with the present Governor Taft: Among the provincial employees there is one called the supervisor, who is the engineer of the province, and there are more than 18 vacancies because there are no engineers; no Filipinos, and Americans do not want to go there because the salaries are so low. So these provinces at the present time are without preparatory work, such as the making of plans, etc., and consequently this greatly delays the reconstruction of bridges, roads, and public works.

That is the situation in the Philippines. When in a congress composed chiefly of Filipinos a question relating to finance should be brought up, or a question of public works, or a question relating to engineering none of us can make a report on it, and we can not legislate properly. Therefore, the necessity of American control, as is practically the case in the question of education, when the Philippine government had nothing but Filipino teachers. Now we have both Filipino and American teachers. It is natural that the Philippine teachers are learning gradually from the American teachers, because Superintendent Atkinson is a great man and he makes the Philippine teachers remain one or two months in an American school in Manila before taking charge of their positions in the various towns. That is what I call American civilization, properly initiated and developed; not suddenly, because it is impossible that anything important should be evolved in the world suddenly. The law of birth and of development is a necessary law. Nobody can escape such a law, and my people now are in the position of a man who has just come out of Spanish ignorance and enters into American civilization without any preparation. That is the case with me in the hotel where I live. I have been there eight days. I can not find my own room yet, because the place has so many doors and entrances and so many conveniences that it has dazed me. That is the case with me.

The CHAIRMAN. The defects you describe are defects in the government which Aguinaldo himself established in Malolos?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; but Aguinaldo was not responsible for this. He had no other opportunity.

The CHAIRMAN. He had no other people from whom to select officials?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So I understand you to say that among other reasons why the Filipinos to-day are incapable of governing themselves is the fact that they have no people there—no Filipinos—who have had experience in conducting financial matters of a national character; that they have no civil engineers; that they have no one capable of superintending a system of public instruction, and that they have no one capable of administering the affairs of the interior, as we would call it here, on a broad scale?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir. I again wish to impress upon the committee, although it is repeating, the necessity of Congress fixing an allowance of \$100,000 every year to bring Filipinos over here in order to study the American methods.

The CHAIRMAN. Permit me to say that Governor Taft, in conversation with me and with various members of the committee, said that he was strongly in favor of some provision of law whereby Filipinos may be sent to this country systematically to study our institutions

and methods, and that the bill which the House committee has reported, if enacted into law, will permit the Philippine government to make provision out of its own revenues for the sending over of Filipinos to take those studies.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; if I could take that back to my people as a special provision of Congress, the sentiment of my country toward the sovereign would be much better established.

The CHAIRMAN. Permit me to say that there will be a Philippine bill enacted into law at this session of Congress, and Governor Taft, who will be at the head of the government, I know and the committee know, is in favor of making provision for the sending of Filipinos over here to study our institutions. Now, you have revenue enough. When the Commission reported last September you had more than \$5,000,000 of gold in your treasury after very large appropriations for public improvements and \$2,000,000 for a harbor. You have, I see by a report recently, \$8,000,000 in the treasury. So, then, if the law will permit your government to make that provision, and you have officials in favor of making that provision and you have revenue enough to make the expenditure, there is no reason why you can not send the students over here. You can pass the law in the Philippines.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I had understood that it would have to be a special law. I did not understand it as I understand it now.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the general grant of legislative power in this bill to the Philippine government, the Philippine government can itself make provision.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I am very glad to hear that.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand you to say that your educational system under the government of the Taft Commission has proven a success?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And that the provincial and municipal governments are proving a success?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In each of those governments there are officials that are Americans, civil engineers and others, from whom the Filipinos are receiving instruction in the necessary principles of government?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Your idea is that the happiness of the Philippine people depends upon their continued education in this direction under the supervision of the American Government?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The Philippine people are growing more contented, are they, because of the removal of the taxes from the poor?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your understanding to-day as to the number of insurgents now in the field, or who were in the field when you left the islands?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. When I left the islands there were about 300 or 400 insurgents in Samar under the command of General Zamora, who is the leader in Samar—that is, looked upon as a leader, but who is insignificant. But when I arrived here I learned that Zamora had already surrendered with his 400 rifles, so that I can assure you that the insurrection is at an end, as can be proven by the last letter which I

received from the Federal party on the *Hancock*, which left the Philippine Islands eight or ten days after I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please read the letter and Mr. Joannini will translate it?

Mr. BUENCAMINO (reading). "Matters are coming to a head—

The CHAIRMAN. What is the date of that letter?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. April 18, 1902.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is it from?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Dr. José Alver, the president of the Federal party.

Mr. OLMSTED. To whom is it addressed?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Mr. Felipe Buencamino.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. When was it received?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. In Washington, on May 30, at 2 o'clock p. m. [Reading]:

Matters are coming to a head. It is very probable that a new commission will go over to investigate the new Filipino problem, without ignoring the cruelties committed by the military, as the report of the torture of the "water cure" has produced in America profound sensation. Malvar has surrendered two days ago, and he promises not to leave one rifle. The surrender of Tamora has been postponed to the 20th instant on account of the heavy storms which have taken place in that province. The war is thus at an end, so that I have this day sent to Governor Taft the following telegram:

"Now the war is finished. Full amnesty."

The visit of Commissioner Wright to Tayabas has been a very cordial one, and he has brought the best impressions from the province.

Mr. JONES. What position does that gentleman hold under the United States Government?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. None at all.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Mississippi. Is a name signed to that letter?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So, as I understand you to say, except for a little hostility in the island of Samar the insurrection is ended?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; that is my opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the condition throughout the island of Luzon so far as the people being interested in their municipal and provisional governments is concerned, and the general feeling of content; is that growing?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. The conditions are very satisfactory and the people are highly contented. The only thing is the lack of cattle and machinery.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the rinderpest prevail?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir. I have been charged to examine the American system of cultivation of agriculture and see if it can be practically applied in the Philippines. For that reason I visited, also, in Honolulu sugar plantations in order to study the manner of working the land.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the Spanish Government ever take any pains to teach the Filipinos scientific agriculture?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they ever take any pains to teach the Filipinos anything to enable them to govern themselves?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir; nothing.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they allow the Filipinos to participate in the government?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they not call them "Indians?"

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The Filipinos, then, no matter how well educated, or of how high character, were the victims of a system of caste, were they not?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Rizal himself was called an "Indian?"

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Although he took all the prizes at the Jesuit college in Manila, he was called an "Indian" and made to feel the shame which comes from that epithet in those islands?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So, as a matter of fact, under the Spanish administration and Spanish law the Filipinos were practically deprived of all opportunity to become good citizens?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is one reason why they can not govern themselves to-day if left alone?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. If the United States Government should withdraw from the islands to-day, what do you think of the probability of foreign interference—the seizure and partition of the islands by other powers?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. On account of the foreign interests in the country—there is an English railroad; there are 20 English firms, the capital of each is at least \$1,000,000; there are 2 English banks, each having a capital of \$10,000,000; there are three, four, or five life or fire insurance companies, also English. and a New York firm has lately established a branch; but the greater portion of the commercial element is formed by the German merchants. There are more than 300 German firms distributed throughout the entire country, dealing in the richest products, which are coffee and sugar, down to shoes and hats.

The French control the high commerce by means of the commercial company called the General Tobacco Company. Being secretary of state of the Philippine government, I received a recommendation from Manila to favor this tobacco company in the province of Cayan, saying that the minister of France was a shareholder in this company. This company controls the entire output of the provinces of Tayabas, Leyte, Bohol, Cebu, and Pinas. It deals also in sugar, in coffee, in hemp, and in copra, and sustains an interisland line of steamers between the islands and a trans-Atlantic line which goes as far as New York. These foreign interests established there for a long time, to which we must add the Spanish interests, or the Spanish firms which have remained in the islands, and which are now foreign in the Philippines, would cause us many difficulties if we were alone. There has been a recent case. Two Filipinos had a fight in the theater of Cebu. One Filipino was a partisan of America and the other of the Spanish cause, being the son of Spanish parents.

The Spanish consul in Cebu, forgetting that both were Filipinos, interfered in the question and desired to protect the latter, believing he was a Spaniard, and prevent the police from imprisoning him, as they did the other, and he struck the Philippine policeman. Then all the policemen gathered and beat the Spanish consul. Had we been alone, or had Aguinaldo been at the head of the government, the fol-

lowing day a Spanish man-of-war would have been in the bay of Manila demanding an indemnity in the sum of \$5,000,000, and if they did not get it they would have taken possession of Cebu and hanged all the police there, but as we have an American Government so strong, notwithstanding the acts of the Spaniards, notwithstanding the fact that the Spanish consul who was in Manila had gone to investigate the case, there was no question or disorder. The case was investigated, and the truth was discovered, that the Spanish consul of Cebu attempted to protect one Filipino against another Filipino, believing he was a Spaniard. Finding that he was in error, nothing happened, and the Spanish Government relieved its consul on account of his error, but had we been alone assuredly such would not have been the case, and we would be now either in war with Spain or Spain would have received one or two million dollars for the blow given to the consul. There is a practical case.

The CHAIRMAN. How near is the nearest foreign possession to the islands?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Formosa.

The CHAIRMAN. How far is that?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. About forty-eight hours distance.

The CHAIRMAN. That is owned by whom?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Japan.

The CHAIRMAN. Name the other foreign possessions near the Philippines?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Hongkong, England; Singapore, also belonging to England; Australia; the Carolines, belonging to Germany; then China, the ports of China; then Port Arthur, which it appears will soon be in the possession of the Russians. That is a point at the greatest distance from the Philippines, but that is only twelve days off.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the nearest French territory?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Shanghai.

Mr. HAMILTON. What is the membership of the Federal party?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. All the members?

Mr. HAMILTON. How many, about?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. There are 236 lodges according to the last census taken of it. That was in September of last year. But as we have won the municipal and provincial elections recently held I believe that these lodges must amount to about 300. Each lodge may be said to contain about 1,000 members. That is to say all the intelligent men, because, as I have already said, these intelligent men have 100, 200, or 300 fanatics with them.

Mr. HAMILTON. Has the Federal party members in every organized province in the islands now?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; except in Jolo and in the non-Christian portions of the islands.

Mr. HAMILTON. As I understand, the Federal party is opposed to independence at this time; is that true?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. HAMILTON. Is it not true that the chief justice and Justice Torres and other leading Filipinos cooperating with Americans and who have been prominent in building up the Federal party are opposed to statehood, but desire independence some time in the future when the Philippine Islands are ready for it?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. As being a State of the United States?

Mr. HAMILTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir; they are not opposed to that, but they would rather have an autonomous form of government like Australia or Canada. I can describe the situation to you if you desire to hear it.

Mr. HAMILTON. I understand that the men I have named were opposed to statehood and preferred independence sometime in the future, and that they had worked with the Federal party mainly for peace?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Exactly.

Mr. HAMILTON. That is a fact?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. HAMILTON. Just one other question. The peace of Biacna-bat6 of December 14, 1897, it is said that by the terms of that peace the Spanish Government was to pay through one A. Paternel to the insurgents the sum of \$1,000,000, and to the families of those who had suffered from war, though not engaged therein, the sum of \$700,000. Is that true; and if so, to what extent was this part of the promise carried out?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. With your permission I will decline to answer that question, because that is one of the secrets of Emilio Aguinaldo. I believe that in the entire history of the Philippines that is something similar to the promise of Admiral Dewey. The only thing that I have been told by Aguinaldo is that he received \$400,000 from the Spanish.

Mr. HAMILTON. As a result of that peace?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. HAMILTON. What, if any, title was there to mine under the Spanish Government?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Concessions were given.

Mr. HAMILTON. There was no absolute ownership?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir.

Mr. HAMILTON. The concession simply provided that mines might be worked?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. There was a temporary concession of fifty or sixty or ninety-nine years.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. How long did you serve as interpreter for General MacArthur?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. From October 15, 1900, to May 31, 1901.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. What business were you engaged in when first appointed interpreter to General MacArthur?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. I was engaged in the practice of law and was a law professor.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Did you give up those occupations when you accepted the position of interpreter?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. What portion of your time was given to General MacArthur?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. About an hour a day. I did not go to his office, but remained at my own office. Four Tagalog newspapers were sent to my office and I translated them. I received \$75 for this work, most of which was paid to my clerk for his services.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Do you still maintain a law office in Manila?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. You do?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir. It is a firm composed of four attorneys.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Do you still engage in the practice of law?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. As counsel for the younger members.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Do you still share in the proceeds of the office?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Then you have not abandoned all your income from law?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Do you hold any other position?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. That is all.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Are you still a professor of law?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir; I am not a professor at a university, but I teach law in my office.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. Do you receive any income from that source?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. No, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. You are a partner and you keep a law office in Manila at this time?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Illinois. You are a member of the civil-service board?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir.

Mr. OLMSTED. I would like to ask a question or two, not having any direct reference to what has been under discussion to-day. You testified that Aguinaldo with a force of 4,000 men went in search of General Luna and called at his place of residence, and that while Aguinaldo was there General Luna, with only 50 mounted men as an escort, called at the residence of Aguinaldo and was received with such a welcome that his body was found with 36 bolo wounds and pierced by more than 40 bullets. I would like to ask if you know the occasion of or reason for General Luna's visit to General Aguinaldo's residence at that time?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. As I said before, it is a mystery. I do not know. It is not known why this visit was made.

Mr. OLMSTED. Do you know whether he was invited or directed to call there?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. That is a question of dispute. Luna's partisans say that Luna received a telegram from Aguinaldo, and Aguinaldo's partisans say that he sent no such telegram, because Aguinaldo was in search of Luna. I have personally attempted to find in our telegrams the ribbons of that day and of the previous day, but it has been impossible to find anything of them. General Bell, who covered all the parts where Luna and Aguinaldo were in the north, also desired to study that question, and he took all the telegrams and ribbons which he could find abandoned by the Filipinos in their flight. He says that he did not find anything which would throw any light on the subject, in order to discover how that coincidence took place, of Aguinaldo being at Luna's house, while Luna was being killed in the lower part of Aguinaldo's house, 75 miles from each other.

Mr. OLMSTED. Is it not apparent from the fact that he was accompanied only by his staff, that General Luna's visit to Aguinaldo's house was not hostile?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Yes, sir; it appears to be.

Mr. OLMSTED. Has any explanation been given of the fact that he did meet his death in Aguinaldo's house?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Nothing at all.

Mr. OLMSTED. Has any attempt been made to learn of the reason of his being put to death?

Mr. BUENCAMINO. Nothing to my knowledge. I do not know if Aguinaldo made any investigation, but at that time there was such secrecy that none of us could speak a word about it, fearing that we would suffer the same fate, and for that reason the Philippine insurrection morally died; there was no more confidence in anybody.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is all. We are very greatly obliged to you, Mr. Buencamino.

Thereupon (at 4.50 o'clock p. m.) the committee adjourned.